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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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8 May 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bulgarian Historian Attack SFRY for 'Assimilation' (TANJUG Domestic Service, 21 Apr 85)	1
Hungarian Minister Praises Private Cabs (G. Alimov, F. Lykhanov; IZVESTIYA, 15 Apr 85)	3
Briefs	
Albanian Signs Condolence Book	4

ALBANIA

Ismail Kadare on Own Writings, Government Policies (Ismail Kadare Interview; DAGENS NYHETER, 20 Apr 85)	5
---	---

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bilak Interview With Swedish Daily (Vasil Bilak; RUDE PRAVO, 18 Apr 85)	9
RUDE PRAVO Reviews CPCZ CC 1969 Session (Prague Domestic Service, 17 Apr 85)	18
Danger of Western Impact on Youth Stressed (Ignac Holub; PRAVDA, 16 Apr 85)	21
CSSR Daily on Importance of Propaganda Work (Editorial; PRAVDA, 15 Apr 85)	24
New School Law Analyzed, Interpreted (Karel Cepicka, Marta Vlachova; TRIBUNA, 27 Mar 85)	27
Figures on Bratislava's Growth (RUDE PRAVO, 2 Apr 85)	32
Bratislava's Academic Institutions (Vladimir Cirbes Interview; RUDE PRAVO, 2 Apr 85)	34

Briefs		
CSSR-Bulgarian Consultations on Africa		36
Electronics Imports		36
CSSR Roads		36
Processing of Cuban Cane		36
Czech Savings, Credits		36
HUNGARY		
Churches Issue Commemorative Statements		
(NEPSZABADSAG, 3 Apr 85)		37
Briefs		
Consumer Goods Shortage		39
New Finnish Ambassador		39
Spring Floods, Crop Damage		39
New Iraqi Ambassador		39
POLAND		
Director Discusses Pilot Training Center		
(Bronislaw Janus Interview; SKRZYDLATA POLSKA, No 4,		
27 Jan 85)		40
ROMANIA		
RCP 13th Congress, Five-Year Plan Reviewed		
(Gerd Vehres; EINHEIT, No 2, Feb 85)		43
YUGOSLAVIA		
Pozderac on Reaffirmation of Democratic Centralism		
(J. Babic; BORBA, 3 Apr 85)		49
Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly Discusses All-People's Defense		
(TANJUG Domestic Service, 16 Apr 85)		50
Comments on Asia Speech at Hoxha Funeral		
(Enver Hoxha; TANJUG Domestic Service, 15 Apr 85)		52
Central Press Treatment of Hoxha Death		
(BORBA, 12 Apr 85)		54
Slovenian Writer Refutes Muhic Criticism		
(Niko Grafenauer; DANAS, 26 Feb 85)		55
Stavrev Addresses Jubilee Session of Macedonian Council		
(TANJUG Domestic Service, 16 Apr 85)		59

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BULGARIAN HISTORIAN ATTACK SFRY FOR 'ASSIMILATION'

LD211405 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0055 GMT 21 Apr 85

["Territorial Claims to Yugoslavia"--TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 21 April (TANJUG)--Bulgarian historian Georgi Genov has openly and crudely attacked present-day Yugoslavia for having carried out the forcible assimilation of "the Bulgarian population" in Macedonia, and has alleged that in this "torn-off Bulgarian country" Bulgarian national names were replaced by the names of "the Macedonia nation which is in real terms non-existent."

The reason for compiling in one place all these untruths and slanders against Yugoslavia Genov found while writing a review of the book "The Idea of Autonomy as Tactics in the Program of a National Liberation Movement in Macedonia and Edirne 1893-1941" by historian Dimitur Gotsev. This book was published in Bulgarian in 1983, and its contents are exceptionally anti-Yugoslav and anti-Macedonian.

In his review, which appeared 2 whole years later, Genov says that this book has met with a great deal of interest among the Bulgarian public. He also pays tribute to Bulgarian historiography which has recently been "very successful" in the research and explanation of numerous "delicate and sore problems" with regard to "the struggle of the Bulgarians" in Macedonia to unite with "mother Bulgaria." This is becoming increasingly important because, he says, there have been "speculations" with precisely this struggle "in Yugoslavia, and particularly Skopje."

For Bulgarian historians the Macedonian people "do not exist."

The aim of the review, according to its author, is to stress even more the importance of strategy and tactics in implementing the ideas, present for more than 100 years, of annexing Macedonia to the Bulgarian state (the ideas with which Gotsev deals in his book).

Genov claims that "the Bulgarians in Macedonia" have been exposed since World War II to a "foreign influence," and that instead of a Bulgarian national name, the name of the "non-existent Macedonian nation" has been

imposed on them. Denying the free orientation of the Macedonians, Genov does not hesitate to claim that the Macedonian republic within Yugoslav borders has been "imposed" on the Bulgarian population in Macedonia; in other words, that the question to which country Macedonia was going to belong was resolved in advance by "military and political force."

The author of the review, Georgi Genov, supports his colleague, Dimitur Gotsev, in the assessment to the effect that after World War II Bulgaria did not have the means to intercede in favor of "his compatriots under foreign power." ("The forcible replacement of Bulgarian names in Macedonia," as Genov notes, was carried out in a "forcible way" in order to give it an "anti-Bulgarian mark".)

In the writings of this historian the crudest territorial claims of Bulgaria to Yugoslavia, more precisely, Macedonia and a part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, appear. This is only one of a number of examples which are constantly appearing in HISTORICHESKI PREGLED, the scientific-theoretical journal of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences History Institute, whose latest issue carried Genov's review.

The strivings to annex Macedonia to Bulgaria date as far back as 1978 when the tzarist Russia liberated Bulgaria from Ottoman slavery. The realization of this aim, Genov writes, was not abandoned for one single moment. Only the strategy and tactics of Bulgarian politicians, as well as various legitimate organizations and the adaptation to historic constellations of the particular period. [sentence as received]

Genov's review appears at a time when the highest-ranking Bulgarian leaders are claiming that "not one single part of the Bulgarian nation belongs to any other nation." But because of this, Genov claims, Bulgarian compatriots in Macedonia are under "foreign power." In Yugoslavia they are "exposed to the assimilation" under pressure and forced to declare themselves as members of a "non-existent fabricated Macedonian nation."

And while Bulgarian Muslims "voluntarily and spontaneously" change their Turkish-Arabic names for Bulgarian ones, as is claimed here, according to Genov "the Bulgarians in Macedonia were forced to replace their names with Macedonian ones."

The concern that Turkey displays for the fate of its 1 million compatriots in Bulgaria is here characterized as "interference in the internal affairs of Bulgaria and an expression of claims on the People's Republic of Bulgaria." At the same time Bulgaria's territorial claims to Yugoslavia, directed "right at the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and parts of Serbia, have been emphasized very frequently and continually over several decades.

Official Sofia has accused the press in Turkey and other Balkan countries of conducting an "anti-Bulgarian campaign" in its reports on the position of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Thus it is claimed here that the atmosphere of good-neighborly relations in the Balkans is being established. And how can one describe all that has been said against Yugoslavia in the latest issue of HISTORICHESKI PREGLED alone other than as an anti-Yugoslav campaign.

CSO: 2800/302

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN MINISTER PRAISES PRIVATE CABS

PM190748 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 April 1985 morning edition publishes on page 6 a 950-word interview in Moscow with Hungarian Transport Minister Lajos Urban by G. Alimov and F. Lukyanov entitled "What Transport Can Do." After speaking highly of the standard of Budapest's bus services, the minister goes on to say that since January 1982 owners of private cars have been officially permitted to operate them as taxicabs. He continues: "We proceeded from the fact that in principle this was what their owners had been doing before. But in a spontaneous manner, uncontrolled by the state. With a single stroke of the pen, as the saying goes, and without a single forint of capital investment we succeeded in doubling the country's taxi pool. Here we pursued the aim of combatting so-called 'underground carriage,' when private and even state cars were used as taxis during work time, without paying tax." The minister points out that Budapest now has 2,000 state taxis and approximately 3,000 private cabs. While admitting that at first the private cabdrivers included people "attracted by the presumed possibility of easy profit," the minister says that they made short shrift of such people and debarred them from carrying passengers.

CSO: 2500/348

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ALBANIAN SIGNS CONDOLENCE BOOK--TANJUG report--Yesterday morning, Radovan Vlajkovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, signed the condolence book opened on the occasion of Enver Hoxha's death in the Embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Belgrade. Milorad Stanojevic, president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, and Budimir Loncar, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, also signed the condolence book. During the day, the Embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was also visited by heads of diplomatic missions accredited to our country, who signed the condolence book. [Text] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 85 p 2]

CSO: 2800/302

ALBANIA

ISMAIL KADARE ON OWN WRITINGS, GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 April 85 p 4

[Interview with Ismail Kadare, Albanian author by Disa Hastad in Tirana, Albania; date not specified: "A European from Madmen's Alley"]

[Text] Ismail Kadare is Albania's most noteworthy author--most of his novels are also translated into Swedish. Disa Hastad met him in Tirana. At that time Enver Hoxha had not yet died, the father of his country whose concern about the Russians Kadare described in one of his novels. Kadare's Albania is severe and wintry gray, and his love for his fatherland impels him forward by other means than those taught in writers' school. "If the literature is bad it is not the fault of the author alone, but also of the readers," said Kadare. The long years of subjugation created a hunger for culture and made the Albanian people good readers.

In Tirana I met the author Ismail Kadare.

He is the Albanian author who is known abroad--even in Sweden it is possible to find most of his novels. But there is a reason for this. He is a good writer. His books, which can hardly be called blandishing, give a description of Albania in which the country is no longer especially exotic or foreign and the people are no longer puritanical athletes, but a very much alive and ordinary people.

Kadare often travels abroad, but he is not considered entirely representative of his country's literature. If one wants to meet one who is, he should turn to the chairman of the Writers' Association, Dritero Agolli. Kadare is more original, and that is also how he is described in the official history of literature. He is also described as "bold." Expanding the epithet further (still according to the official book) he is "patriotic." And certainly Kadare is a true son of his country. But I was told that he first became a patriotic author of the East European type in the descriptive scenes of his novels.

Kadare, who was born in 1936 in the mountain town of Gjirokaster, wrote political articles in his youth, articles that he now says that he has forgotten. He studied in Moscow in the 50's, in Khrushchev's time, and there he saw the first signs of a break between his country and the Soviet Union. In perhaps his best novel "Stappgudarnas skymning" [The Twilight of the Steppe Gods] he writes about this, and about his time in the upper course of the Soviet writers' school, The Gorkiy Institute, where he lived in the corridor for "minority writers who write in Russian." At that time Kadare was a classmate of several well-known names, such as the later-defected Anatoliy Kuznetsov (who wrote "Babiy Yar") and Bella Achmadulina, who was then married to Jevtuschenko.

But his Russian is rusty now, he said with a thick accent when we met. He preferred to speak French.

The General's Cafe

Ismail Kadare came to my hotel accompanied by his wife Elena, who is also an author and editor for a publisher. This is the way it works here: foreign journalists are not expected to go to the home of the subject of the interview. We met, therefore, in the old fashioned, spacious coffee shop of the Daytis Hotel. In this room sat the dead army's general, the principal character of Kadare's first novel of the same name, and washed away the smell of death with cognac after having completed his task of digging up and sending home the Italian soldiers who fell in the war. Kadare is not an optimistic describer of progress--his Albania is severe and wintry gray, and his patriotic love of country is brought forth by other means than those taught in writers' schools.

So here we sat, and also present is my interpreter, who does not translate but who is interested in literature, and is also a translator. We gossip a little about Swedish authors. (Ismail sends greetings to all whom he knows, now that is done.)

Ismail is a rather small man who smokes but declines cognac--his books also reflect a certain dislike, if not against alcohol then against drunken people--and we talk quietly. It is not the time for great declarations. And Kadare affirms that he is really not a platform speaker.

He says "we" when speaking of Albania, but his official position has been reduced in recent years. He is a member of the party, but he is not a big gun. When he most recently took part in an authors meeting in Greece he did not speak up a single time (according to French newspaper accounts).

Political Novels

• He has devoted himself to a type of work which is extremely difficult in socialist countries, namely political novels, with real names on the actors.

He said himself that his key novel about the break with Moscow, "Den harda vintern" [The Hard Winter] became the most criticized of all his novels, "So one can hardly call me a programmed writer!"

When he wrote it he had access to authentic documents. Yet he rewrote the novel (it now exists in two versions) and I asked what the actors themselves thought about it.

"Which ones?" wondered Kadare. "Khrushchev is of course dead."

Of course I meant the other, Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, who in the novel is described as a concerned father of his people (whose concern with the Russians a tender-hearted old copyist noted first of all by Hoxha's worried expression in all of his pictures!). But Kadare will not discuss Hoxha, except only to say that he does not know whether he has read the book.

Life of the Nomenklatura

Even though Hoxha appears a little idealized, the rest of the novel is not especially arranged to suit. It is instead a very thorough description of the privileged life of the new upper class, the nomenklatura. It is convincingly shown how small this power group is and how it is already beginning to function as a new class. Kadare does not hide the wrong side of the system--a person begins to leaf through a photo album in which certain faces are carefully blotted out--they are nonpersons, the purged ones.

Kadare also described the unclassed, the old nonsocialist class which now lives in cellars and concierge apartments in their former homes, and which during the split are sniffing the morning air. But not even these losers are described totally without sympathy. Kadare has the book end unhappily on the personal plane--a mother-in-law uses communism's public pillorying of private life in order to break her daughter's engagement.

I asked Kadare if it is more difficult to be an author in the Soviet Union than in Albania.

"Mainly it is difficult to be an author," he replied. "I think I am a real author. In the Soviet Union it is obviously difficult to be an author. I live here--so I do not think it is difficult."

In "Stappgudarnas skymning", the novel about Moscow, Ismail Kadare describes the Soviet Union as an evening country in which nationalism and great power chauvinism are beginning to rumble on the horizon, and it is becoming tight for the small nationalities. He succeeded in weaving Balkan myths together with a pure folksong tune, while describing the Moscow environment, especially the cold, isolated world of the foreigner, with great precision. The time is the autumn when Pasternak was thrown out and forced to give up the Nobel prize--it is the hatred of the gang against the lone writer, and at the same time a couple of bragging, drinking writers who are preying on the dis-senter in his area.

Albania is a hard, ideologically governed society, and in the writings of the leader Enver Hoxha one finds no tolerance for the idealism and criticism from such as Pasternak. Although the author's alter ego in "Stappgudarnas skymning" lets Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" lie unread while he relates a couple of examples, it is entirely clear that Kadare represents a European humanism, however the ideology sounds from above in Tirana.

I asked about the work of the Albanian authors, and he said that the long years of repression, when the language was forbidden, created a hunger for culture and also made the Albanian people into very good readers--a people with good taste.

"I do not believe it is only the fault of the authors if the literature is bad--it is also the readers' fault."

Slavery under the Turks lasted for 500 years, but the Albanians succeeded in retaining their individuality. They sometimes attained high posts in the Ottoman administration, and Kadare believes that paradoxically enough, this strengthened Albanian self-esteem.

"Certainly these generals and ministers were cooperating, by our way of thinking. But at the same time Albanians could say, 'My people are certainly enslaved, but the sultan's minister is Albanian.'"

I asked him if he thought that Albania would now open up more to the West, but he rejected that and said that it is in the West that journalists speculate whether Albania is "open" or "closed."

"We have our line. It remains."

"But certainly people in Albania who do not have the same travel opportunities as you must suffer from their isolation?"

The question appeared to surprise him, and make him a little embarrassed.

"But we have no possibility of sending people out as tourists. I can say that the scientists and writers who really need to travel get to travel."

Madmen's Alley

The next day I traveled to his home town, Gjirokaster, which he described in "Kronika i sten" [Chronicle in Stone], a war novel from a child's perspective. Kadare made a map so that I could find his childhood home, which had a terrace with a view over the entire valley.

"We lived in Madmen's Alley," he said. "Hoxha lived in the same quarter. but not in that alley, no."

Madmen's Alley is still the same winding gravel lane between walls as it was then. When I sought Kadare's childhood the next day in Gjirokaster I met donkeys and old women in black dressed in bloomers.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BILAK INTERVIEW WITH SWEDISH DAILY

AU191251 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 85 pp 1, 2

["Full text" of answers given by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to questions of Curt Carlsson, editor of ARBETET, a Swedish social democratic daily published in Goeteborg; place and date of interview not given; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Prague (ZR)--Comrade Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has replied to questions of Curt Carlsson, editor of ARBETET, a social democratic daily from Goeteborg in Sweden. We publish the full text of the interview.

Carlsson: In which way should the European nations commemorate the 40th anniversary of liberation from Hitlerite fascism? Are there still justified grounds for Czechoslovakias distrust of certain Western powers, a distrust stemming from the events surrounding the Munich agreement of 1938? How do you view the fact that Sweden remained neutral during World War I?

Bilak: Although no special committee for dignified celebrations has been formed, nations worldwide (and not just in Europe--it was, after all, a world war) should commemorate with profound piety and respect the dead and the living, all those who fought against the fascist monster. They should recall that in that critical period common sense prevailed and the anti-Hitler coalition was set up. This also serves as an example for our times when the world is threatened by the deadly danger of a nuclear war.

What would contemporary world look like had German fascism and Japanese militarism not been defeated? It is no secret that many peoples were destined for liquidation and others were to be crippled, both mentally and physically, so as to thwart their healthy development. It is hard to believe that Sweden would have been an exception in this respect. The war's end and the defeat of fascism should be celebrated at least as a modern festival of the resurrection of Europe.

As for the Munich betrayal of the Czechoslovak people: It can be said that betrayed love is always painful to get over and that this takes a long time. The Czechoslovak people paid a heavy toll for this betrayal. On the other hand, they have learned from this forever that they must never again allow their

homeland to have as unreliable allies. The wrath has evaporated but it is impossible to forget.

The fact that Sweden did not experience the horrors of World War II is its fortune. It is important that this fact should not make Sweden adopt the North American psychology. Whereas Europe was impoverished by World War I and World War II, the United States was enriched by them, which severely deformed its mentality. That is why the aversion of most Americans to war is not as strong as it is among European nations. That is also why representatives of the most reactionary U.S. circles are capable of threatening us with war with such irresponsibility verging on cynicism and even of accusing antiwar forces of communism.

Carlsson: Swedish information media have long been claiming that the Czechoslovak Nobel Prize laureate Seifert is a so-called dissident, that he is forcibly confined to his own home, that his works are banned, or were formerly banned, that for political reasons he was not allowed to [personally] accept the prize, and that the authorities are silent about Seifert today. What is your opinion concerning these claims?

Bilak: I will gladly confirm that disinformation, half-truths, and lies predominate in the Swedish news media, and not just the Swedish media, with respect to Czechoslovakia. What has been written about Jaroslav Seifert is only one example of misinformation. I am convinced that all those who wrote and said these lies were more surprised at the award of the Nobel Prize to a Czechoslovak artist than people in Czechoslovakia. This was documented, among other things, by their zealous scramble to get hold of some information about him, following the award. They wanted to know who he was, what he had written, and, above all, what sort of offense against socialism he had committed. There was a great deal of speculation on the subject of Jaroslav Seifert and his civic attitudes. For a long time, he had been a target of manipulation, but in the end he did not allow himself to be misused and dissociated himself in good time from the hostile plans to turn him against the people. His works were and continue to be published in Czechoslovakia in large editions. The slander spread by the Western news media was an affront not only to the laureate himself and to Czechoslovakia, but also to the Swedish committee that awards the Nobel Prize. Long before the award (in 1966), Jaroslav Seifert was named national artist in our country. I do not know how many national artists there are in Sweden but only someone who does not know anything about Czechoslovakia, or does not want to know, can fail to understand what it means to be an artist who is revered by the entire nation. It is the greatest honor that can be accorded to an artist in his homeland. There is a reward in life whose value is higher than gold. It is the love of the people.

Carlsson: How do Czechoslovak citizens view the fact that the Soviet Union has deployed in the Western part of your country SS-20 missiles and that, in the event of a major conflict, people there could become a target for NATO missiles? Is the Czechoslovak public aware of the fact that the SS-20 missiles are in place already, or will be stationed there soon?

Bilak: The question is concise but a reply to it would require at least a cursory look at the entire postwar period. What do people in your country do when thieves make circles around their home? Do they remove the locks from their doors, or do they make them safer? As a young man I once read that in Sweden you could leave your valuables unattended in the street and no one would steal them. I hear that this idyllic situation is now a thing of the past.

Throughout the postwar period, the socialist countries have been striving tenaciously to end the arms race. The United States thwarted the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear missiles and deployed first-strike missiles targeted on the CSSR on the territory of the FRG. What were we supposed to do? Should we have pretended that these were children's toys when the danger of a nuclear war breaking out was cut short to only a few minutes? Do you think that if nuclear bombs were falling on Czechoslovakia, Poland and Leningrad, and Sweden would not be affected?

The United States wants to gain military supremacy at any price, to be able to force upon the socialist countries and, subsequently, the whole world, it will. Its hatred of socialism and communism is a hatred of the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union represents the main obstacle to its appetite for world rule. It does not even overly hide its preparations for an annihilating first strike. Or is it perhaps normal that the most reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism arrogate for themselves the right to threaten the Soviet Union with destruction and to claim that "the Soviet Union must reckon with the demise of its state"? The language used with regard to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is so crude and dangerous as to border on the last stage of a war declaration. Why is it being used? Is it to make the world accustomed to this language so that it would not be astonished when they decide in favor of a first strike? Or have they [the most reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism] themselves come to believe the Goebbels propaganda that the Soviet Union can be brought to its knees?

The USSR, together with the other member-states of the Warsaw Pact, has put forward so many peace proposals that they would make an entire peace anthology. Regrettably, these proposals are either suppressed in the West, or their meaning is distorted.

Which policy makes more sense? The American policy: to arm--negotiate--threaten--arm again on Earth and in space--and transform even heaven into hell... or the Soviet policy: to negotiate--impose a moratorium on the production of space weapons--build up trust--freeze both Soviet and U.S. strategic offense arms--halt the deployment of missiles--reduce armament right up to the complete destruction of nuclear weapons--and utilize space to enrich peaceful life on Earth?

What is unclear about this? What is the United States afraid of? Claiming that only ever new armament will ensure peace is just as stupid as fighting illiteracy by means of the destruction of schools.

It has often been claimed that the United States was the first to possess the atom bomb and did not use it. Anyone who wants to know, that this is not true.

It used the bomb at a time when the outcome of the war had already been decided. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was designed to test [the effect of] the nuclear weapon on people and, above all, to intimidate the world. Swing the bomb against the Soviet Union was unthinkable at the time. The United States did not yet have enough bombs to destroy the Soviet Union and the world and the American people would not have understood why atom bombs should be dropped on an ally who had made the greatest sacrifices in the struggle against the common enemy and on a people whom U.S. President F. D. Roosevelt had only a short time before described as "a symbol of the undaunted spirit of peoples." For this reason, it was necessary to manipulate public opinion and to turn Moscow into a bogey. Has the hysteria of the McCarthy era been forgotten? It was enough for someone to admit that Scotch-on-the-rocks is better for his health than American football to be instantly declared an agent of Moscow and an enemy of the free world.

The claim that socialism, lidewise, seeks the destruction of capitalism is being presented deliberately and is absolutely false. Give me a single example of a socialist government or a representative of a socialist state seeking to destroy the United States, Great Britain, or another capitalist country? You will not find such arrant nonsense [nehoraznost]. We believe that the world is striding toward socialism. This is no fatalism, but it follows from the fact that the people of all countries want a better life and will work toward this aim. The capitalist world does not believe this. Should there be a war for this reason? History will tell. We want peace, not war. The socialist countries are in favor of the destruction of all nuclear weapons--others' and their own.

Let the United States accept the Soviet proposals with regard to medium-range missiles and there will not be any Soviet missiles also on the territory of Czechoslovakia. The missiles are, by the way, not SS-20 missiles, to which you referred in your question, but enhanced-range missiles of an operational-tactical designation.

Carlsson: What were, in your opinion, the main causes of the events of the spring of 1968 in your country? Was the dictatorship of the proletariat weakened, thereby opening the way for other-than-communist political forces? And is the dictatorship of the Proletariat an indispensable necessity in building socialism in present-day Czechoslovakia? If it is, what are the reasons?

Bilak: There is a lot of talk in the capitalist world about the right to extensive information. As far as I know, not we but the Finnish president once spoke of information imperialism. Which bourgeois newspapers, radio, or television reported truthfully on the crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968? Our people are familiar with the causes of the counterrevolutionary putsch in Chile, the fall of the shah's regime in Iran, the civil war in El Salvador, and so forth. Had as important a document on the crisis in Czechoslovakia as the "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" been made accessible to people in the capitalist world, including Sweden, you would not have to ask this question. The "lessons" sum up the main causes and various connections of the Czechoslovak crisis. It is a scientific

analysis on which no hostile attempts can cast doubt. Every historian who strives for a truthful clarification of the events of 1968 will draw truth and understanding from this source. The intentions and goals of the counterrevolution in our country were similar to those in Hungary in 1956, only the tactical approach was different and adapted to Czechoslovak conditions. In order to hoodwink the broad masses of the Czechoslovak people, for whom socialism had become the goal of life, the reaction did not come out against socialism but for its "improvement." Who would be opposed to such a thing? But their "improvement" consisted of the elimination of principles without which the construction of socialism is unfeasible. For example, the revolutionary party that is guided by the scientific world outlook was to be turned into some sort of a rightwing revisionist club. The ties of friendship with the Soviet Union were to be severed and the orientation of the CSSR's foreign policy changed. The capitalist method of production was to be restored and Czechoslovakia was to be gradually torn out of the family of the socialist community.

That which you suggest in your questions is a demonstration of your lack of information about real life in the CSSR. Our political system is widely democratic. It comprises the main classes and social groups, political parties, and social organizations associated in the National Front. There are four other political parties in Czechoslovakia, which have their deputies at all levels of elected organs, that is, in national committees, the two republics' national councils, and the Federal Assembly.

Frightening people with the dictatorship of the Proletariat is naive. Are the interests of the Proletariat in its own country perhaps less legitimate than the interests of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist society? Where the capital rules, there is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which is unjust toward the great majority of the people. It is a dictatorship of the minority against the majority. There is no longer a Proletariat in Czechoslovakia, but a workers class, which is the ruling class. This class has its allies and its vanguard, the Communist Party, sees to it that the instruments of power should serve all people. The principle enshrined in the constitution that the people rule themselves is not just an empty phrase, but a law which is being fulfilled.

Carlsson: Virtually all people in Sweden believe that Western countries offer far greater freedom than East European countries. As an example that is frequently being used is the argument that a Swede can openly criticize the Swedish head of government and say that he is a "crook, liar, or cheat," while it is impossible for a Czechoslovak citizen, for example, to say the same thing about his head of government or president. Wherein do the freedom of speech and human rights in Czechoslovakia differ from those in Western countries, such as Sweden? To be concise and accurate: what are, in your view, human rights?

Bilak: They can believe it, but that does not make it necessarily true. I experienced the capitalist regime and know what rights, liberties and what democracy was enjoyed by the working man. You have to remember that the pre-Munich capitalist Czechoslovak Republic linked to present itself as the "most democratic" state. Is it really an example of freedom and democracy that a citizen can call the head of government a "crook, liar or cheat"? You are

right, you cannot say such things in the CSSR because in our country a "crook, liar, or cheat" cannot be the head of government. The Czechoslovak president or head of government have no use for such qualities. They are representatives of the people and not of some sort of a gang. Vilifying someone and calling him without any justification a crook, liar, or cheat--that is not freedom, but uncultured behavior. It is boorishness that deserves punishment. If someone used such attributes against you, for example, you would surely, and rightly, sue him for insulting your honor.

The human rights question as it is being preached in the United States is a big fraud. They have figured it out as a demagogic instrument. It is only an attempt to disguise the inhumanness of their own exploitative system. Do the black inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa have the right to administer their own country? Do the Palestinians have the right to a fatherland? Why do millions of people sleep in the open, why do they not have the right to free education, medical treatment, a piece of bread? Does a man have the right to work, live in dignity, and not depend on charity? How come that millions of people cannot effectuate these rights? Such questions lead all the way to absurdity, so that we could say: Children have the right to good parents, parents to good children, wife to a good husband, and so forth. A human right, however, is the right to a dignified life without exploitation and humiliation.

We do not claim that here in Czechoslovakia in the period of the construction of developed socialism everything is already as it should be, but history does not know a social system that would afford broader human rights than those that the socialist social system already provides today.

Carlsson: Another popular notion in Sweden is that, for example, citizens in Czechoslovakia are not able to leave their country freely for shorter vacations, for entertainment, or to work in the country of their wish, and then return. Emigration possibilities are considered to be limited, if they exist at all. How do you explain the reasons for these difficulties? In a chat in your country I was told that this is a problem of foreign currency. But how [much] does the restrictiveness depend on "ideological contamination"--the fact that the Czechoslovak authorities simply do not permit people to leave freely on the grounds that the influence of the bourgeois society would negatively affect the construction of socialism in your country.

Bilak: Also this question affirms what a distorted view of Czechoslovakia exists in Sweden, as if it were the backwoods. I do not know how many Swedish citizens travel abroad annually "for vacations or entertainment." In Czechoslovakia 5-6 million people do so annually, and there also are 750,000 business trips. Some 650,000 people spend their vacations in the recreational facilities of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH], of which we have several hundred, and on selective recreation, and 400,000 children spend theirs in ROH's Young Pioneers' camps. In our country there is no enterprise that does not have its own recreational facility, not only at home, but also abroad, where further millions of working people and children spend their vacations and weekends. Some 450-500 thousand Czechoslovak citizens are being treated in spas annually, and that generally for a negligible stay. In addition, tens of thousands of people pay their own stay in hotels and mountain chalets, several

hundreds of thousands of people have their own weekend chalet or a house in a village, in the mountains, in forests, and so forth. And the CSSR only has a population of 15 million. We do not deny that the foreign currency question causes us certain problems. We cannot take out loans for travel, but we must earn money for them. You yourself can compare our figures with your own country. Then about 37 percent of Americans would have to travel outside the United States for vacations, but only 7-8 percent do so thus far. I have read somewhere that 16-17 million tourists visit the United States annually. The small Czechoslovakia 1 million more.

Why are you convinced that we have such a great fear of the influence of the bourgeois society? We are not afraid of what is good in bourgeois societies and will gladly accept it as our own. We have enough bourgeois anachronisms here, at home. But in the bourgeois society there is plenty of evil and thus just as any sensible mother protects her children against the bad influence of school mates or friends and so forth, our society wants to protect its citizens against the influence of violence, drugs, and similar things, which are the capitalist world's great problem.

It is a pity that you do not know anything about the history of our nations. In the second half of the 19th century and in the first third of the 20th century, poverty forced millions of our forebears to leave their fatherland. In this way the young blood of our country was drained away. Thank the Lord, today that is just a bad dream. In Czechoslovakia there is no unemployment, people are not impoverished, and do not know social insecurity. Education is free and accessible to all. Many capitalist states are buying brains--the brain drain. You know how most of the developing countries are being harmed by that and what losses it causes them. I do not see therefore why we should support emigration. Capitalism does not want to help socialism but to harm it. More and more people are convinced of that at home.

[Carlsson] What is Czechoslovakia's stance on the system of television satellites that will soon be launched into space over the European states? How will the Czechoslovak authorities prevent the silliest and most lying propaganda getting into living rooms in Czechoslovakia? Does this issue belong to the complex of problems surrounding the dictatorship of the Proletariat?

[Bilak] We will compete in that sphere, too, and I am convinced that the socialist countries will not be weakened and left without influence of their own. I will confide to you that even now it is possible to view on Czechoslovak territory programs of the FRG and Austrian Televisions. We have not noted that the citizens of western and southern Bohemia, of southern Moravia, or the West Slovak region are less enlightened builders of socialism than in other regions. The important thing for Czechoslovak television is to broadcast ever more quality programs, providing instruction and good entertainment.

Moreover, I am convinced that in this sphere too some rules will have to apply. Otherwise there will be chaos.

I do not understand what connection you are looking for with the dictatorship of the Proletariat. Perhaps only that the dictatorship of capital, of "infor-

mation imperialism," must be opposed by resolute working people who will not let themselves be imposed upon by the will of those who are interested in disinforming, in driving nations at loggerheads.

[Carlsson] In what way can the CPCZ cooperate with the social democratic parties in Western Europe, for example in Sweden? And in addition: Where, in your view, does the dividing line run between a communist and a social democratic party?

[Bilak] We have good relations with many social democratic parties. The CPCZ is prepared to cooperate with everyone who is for peace, for man's happiness, for understanding among nations. We are distinguished by our approaches to the scientific [word indistinct], but today we must mainly pursue joining forces to safeguard peace and life on earth. After a nuclear war that threatens the world there would be no political parties, no ideas, and so forth, and from human civilization only wrecks of the remnants of a wild people would be left.

[Carlsson] Czechoslovakia has a positive attitude toward Prime Minister Olof Palme's proposal to create nuclear-free zones in Europe. How can Czechoslovakia, which is one of the states whom it concerns most, meet the Swedish Government halfway so as to bring the realization of that corridor nearer?

[Bilak] The CSSR supports the proposal for creating a nuclear-free zone, and is prepared to give comprehensive support to Mr Palme's proposals. Whether this will materialize is in the hands of NATO, especially the United States. That is where one has to intervene.

[Carlsson] How could Swedish-Czechoslovak relations be improved? Do your ears in Czechoslovakia still resound with Prime Minister Olof Palme's words about your country's government being the "creature of dictatorship"?

[Bilak] The most effective method for achieving an improvement in mutual relations is bilateral good will. Any kind of cooperation requires at least two sides.

Regarding the second part of your question: Why do we have to always remind you of it? From history we know that more than one wise emperor, king, president, and even pope--who is by dogma infallible--have made mistakes.

[Carlsson] Is a visit by the Czechoslovak premier or by the minister of foreign affairs to Sweden being planned to take place any time soon? What, in your opinion, should be the content of a joint Swedish-Czechoslovak communique following such an official visit to our country?

[Bilak] To any decent invitation we react decently. The CSSR is for broad cooperation, and in our country anyone coming with honest intentions is welcome.

The communique should reflect the atmosphere and results of specific deliberations. It would be premature to say today what it should contain.

[Carlsson] In conclusion, I would be grateful if you could acquaint us with your work career, place of birth, schooling, family. What writers do you prefer? Define your current work tasks.

[Bilak] I was born 11 August 1917 in eastern Slovakia in the small and precious mountain village of Krajna Bystra as the ninth child of a small farmer. My father was twice sentenced to death for his anti-Austro-Hungarian activities. The first time his sentence was commuted, and the second time a different man was executed by mistake. I lost my father when I was 3 years old, and when I was 11, my mother also died.

I learned revolutionary activity among workers in Hradec Kralove. Beginning in 1936, I worked in Red Trade Unions. With a weapon in my hand I took part in the antifascist struggle. After liberation I acquired a doctorate in social sciences at an institute of high learning. I am married. I have a daughter and a son, and four grandchildren--two boys and two girls. I gladly grab any good book. Personally I like memoirs and historical literature. In addition to many modern and living authors, I like best A. Jirasek, Lev Tolstoy and A. Tolstoy, Gorkiy, Stendhal, Balzac, Hemingway and writers like that. I liked the book "Emigrants" by your author Moberg because it reminded me of the lot of our emigrants in America.

My current tasks are oriented toward Czechoslovak foreign policy contributing as much as possible to understanding among nations, to the upbringing of our people to understanding among nations, to the upbringing of our people to aim at the highest human goals serving man and peace, and to personally contributing in the best possible way to the preparations for the 17th CPCZ Congress.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO REVIEWS CPCZ CC 1969 SESSION

LD170944 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0730 GMT 17 Apr 85

[Text] The RUDE PRAVO Editorial is entitled "Life Has Confirmed the Correctness of Our Policy," and is also carried by the Slovak PRAVDA.

The article observes that 16 years ago on 17 April 1969 a CPCZ Central Committee Session took place whose results have inscribed themselves for ever in the history of the party and the whole of society, and which greatly influenced the further development of our country. Through its resolutions it opened the way for overcoming the crisis in the party and in society, and for the final defeat of the right-wing opportunist and counterrevolutionary forces.

It was the perspicacity and statesmanlike wisdom of those comrades at the session who realized the need for urgent changes if the party and society were to extricate themselves from the crisis. The session placed Comrade Gustav Husak at the head of the party--an experienced revolutionary, an aware patriot and internationalist, a communist with erudition and ability, and a leading fighter for the cause of the working class, social justice, for the implementation of the ideals of socialism and communism. He has shown these qualities and abilities throughout his life, throughout the subsequent work of the party, on whose Central Committee the seal of the Leninist style of work which he advocated is clear, as is his principled and uncompromising stand on the shortcomings, faults and distortions, which were the fertile soil for the internal party and social crisis.

After the April session of the CPCZ Central Committee a new collective leadership of the party was gradually formed, and the whole controlling structure of the party was reestablished on the principles of democratic centralism and internal party democracy. This was the first and the main prerequisite for ensuring that the party was able to continue in its historic mission, to reestablish and develop its leading role on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, to implement consistently the Leninist principles of guiding the party and society, and to lead the masses of the working people to the further development of socialism in our country.

The RUDE PRAVO editorial, which is also carried by the Slovak PRAVDA, goes on to note that it is precisely from these principles Marxist-Leninist positions

that the party has waged its patient political struggle to overcome everything that has hitherto paralyzed and threatened socialism and its achievements in our country. In short, the task is to lead the party and all society out of disarray and crisis and to reopen the path to socialist development. This historic role has been completely fulfilled. The CPCZ has rallied around itself all honest citizens committed to socialism, and every day it is winning over more and more through its principled and appealing policies.

In accordance with the objective conditions and needs of society, in accordance with the vital interests of the working class and all the working people, the 14th congress set out the general course of the development of our advanced socialist society, which was further specified and elaborated by the 15th and 16th CPCZ Congresses. Not words but deeds are able to confirm the correctness of this or that decision, this or that step, notes the RUDE PRAVDA editorial entitled "Life Has Confirmed the Correctness of Our Policy."

Proof of the correctness of the party's policy is amply supplied by life itself in our country in the last 16 years. How can this be briefly summed up? Decidedly as years which saw socialist democracy consolidating itself, the participation of the broad masses in the creation and implementation of the policy of the party increasing, years in which the material and spiritual level of the people have grown, in which their vital certainties have been consolidated. It is a period in which Czechoslovakia consolidated its international prestige, supported by the fact that together with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, it is implementing a consistent policy of peace. It is a period in which we have tackled and continue to tackle a number of difficult tasks and problems, in which we are striving for a dynamic growth in the national economy, for higher quality of production, for higher social labor productivity, for the quicker implementation of the results and science and technology into practice, for a more rapid advance along the path of intensification of the national economy, for the solution of a whole complex of questions linked with the building of developed socialism.

The aim of the party's efforts for the continual development of the national economy is to ensure that the life of our people continues to improve, that they can realize their aspirations in life, not only in the material sphere, that they live, eat and dress well, but also that they live well in the full meaning of that word, that means having time and inclination for education and culture, for sport, for socially-beneficial activity, for the rich life of people who have found their place in society, who are able to find their bearings in a complicated world, and who stand where they should: in favor of peace, social progress, and socialism.

All this is the meaning of the policy of our Communist Party, and all this testifies to our humanism, to the fact that we are building a better world and one which is socially more just than the one on whose ruins we began building a new life for our republic 40 years ago, says RUDE PRAVO editorial entitled "Life has Confirmed the Correctness of our Policy," which is also carried by today's Slovak PRAVDA.

How else but with deep gratitude and pride will we celebrate this year the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army? The experience of former generations is deeply inscribed on the memory of the people. More than half of our citizens has known no life other than a life of peace, but they too know what the horror of war was, how many sacrifices mankind suffered in the fight against Hitlerite facism.

In Czechoslovakia and throughout the world, therefore, progressive people are linking the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism with the intensive fight for peace, and for averting a nuclear catastrophe. No, the memory of the people has not faded. The lessons of the most terrible war in the history of mankind are unequivocal: there must be no repetition. The forces of war and imperialism must not have another chance. We must fight while there is still time.

We recall important anniversaries not only for memory's sake. We recall them primarily for what they can teach us. The same is true for 17 April 1969, which essentially constituted the utter political defeat of counterrevolution in our country.

The emergence of the counterrevolutionary and right-wing forces in our country was part of an organized and planned class struggle on an international scale. This attempt did not succeed. It was routed.

What bearings to take? Where should we go? After the bitter experiences which we suffered first-hand, so to speak, this question is not difficult to answer. There can be no retreat in any way or at any time from the Leninist path, from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, from proletarian and socialist internationalism. There can be no undermining of the strength and unity of the party, no violation of the unity of the party and people. This is the reliable guarantee in the struggle for a better and happier life for the working people, for peace and social progress in the world, concludes the RUDE PRAVO editorial entitled "Life Has Confirmed the Correctness of our Policy," which is also carried in today's Slovak PRAVDA.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DANGER OF WESTERN IMPACT ON YOUTH STRESSED

AU172057 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Apr 85

[Article by Ignac Holub, doctor of philosophy, candidate of sciences, and lecturer of the CPSL Central Committee: "Youth in the Plans of Anticommunism"]

[Excerpts] Directions of Anticommunist Influence on the Youth of Socialist Countries

The aim of anticommunism is not just to exert an influence on the youth of capitalist countries. At present, it strives more and more intensively to affect also the youth in the countries of real socialism.

This increased interest of anticommunism in the young generation is motivated by the hope that it could be the force that might try to bring about a reversal of the socialist system in the direction of capitalism--provided that anticommunism succeeds in manipulating its minds and conduct. The activity of the main centers of ideological subversion directed against the socialist countries is fully subordinated to these calculations.

The intensity with which anticommunism works upon the youth of the socialist countries is due not only to the growing role of young people in society, but also to the fact that the young generation is least resistant to diverse ideological and political influences. It is in the process of general maturation and is thus easier to affect than the middle or older generations. Anticommunism relies, in particular, on the young people's lack of knowledge of life and their lack of direct experience of life under capitalism. Its main thrust is directed against the theory and practice of building socialism and towards idealizing present-day capitalism.

Attacks From Which Emanates Hatred

The general aim of anticommunism is, primarily, to form in the minds of the young generation a negative image of socialism. Virtually every day, its centers conduct campaigns against socialism aimed at making young people perceive socialism as an antithesis of a just, humanitarian, and democratic social order, which is supposedly the stuff of capitalism. Hate-filled attacks against the leading role of the Communist Party, the socialist political system, socialist and proletarian internationalism, and other lasting values of socialism are being launched continuously. The more socialism develops and the more distinctly it manifests its

advantages over capitalism in the economy, culture, the way of life, and other spheres of social life, the more anticommunism resorts to lies and slanders.

Idealizing life in the bourgeois society is an integral element of the contents of anticommunism is exerting influence on the youth of socialist countries. Anticommunist propaganda strives to form the most favorable image of capitalism possible.

Great attention is being paid to propagating the Western way of life, culture and bourgeois democracy. The general aim is to keep the youth in a state of permanent enthusiasm about Western technology and to make it perceive bourgeois social relations as the model of a perfect society.

Offensively in Educating the Youth

The influence exerted by anticommunism on the youth of the socialist society represents an artful and thoroughly worked-out system of purposefully disrupting the minds and conduct of young people. Its harmfulness must not be underestimated. Experience from the crisis-ridden development in our country in the years 1968-69 as well as the recent events in Poland sufficiently confirm that if educational influence on the youth is underestimated, some young people can yield to the influence of the anticommunist machinery, especially if its activity assumes as gigantic dimensions as it does at present.

The decisive prerequisite of shaping the necessary qualities of young people is, undoubtedly, the formation of their scientific world outlook and communist conviction.

Next to this, improving the quality of the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism among the youth also comes to the fore. It is essential to achieve that young people become fully aware of the merits of socialism and that they become profoundly convinced of its prospects. It is precisely in this respect that there continue to be reserves in our propaganda. These lie, in particular, in superficiality and lack of persuasiveness in explaining individual aspects of life in the socialist society. At present, we must also substantially intensify education toward socialist and proletarian internationalism. Young people must be guided to assume an active position in life, to be modest, and to respect social values. We must make them fully understand the need for their active participation in the creation of social values as well as in their purposeful and reasonable use. An energetic struggle against the consumer-type way of life also plays an important role in this respect.

The positive program of shaping socialist features of young people cannot be effective if it does not comprise an offensive struggle against the concrete attempts of anticommunism to exert an influence on their minds and conduct. Waging an offensive struggle against concrete manifestations of the influence of anticommunism on the youth means, first of all, to respond flexibly and in good time to topical domestic and international problems, before these are seized by bourgeois propaganda. This is the only way to ensure that young people orient themselves correctly in complex situations and that they do not yield to anticommunist influences.

An important prerequisite for an effective and offensive struggle against anti-communism is thorough knowledge of the sentiments and views prevailing among the young generation as well as a correct response to them. In the propaganda practice, we can still come across instances of an abstract conduct of the struggle against anticommunist or other hostile and incorrect influences, with knowledge of the specific situation being absent. Such an approach cannot yield the appropriate effect and does not generate ideological firmness.

Enhancing the offensiveness of the struggle against the influence of anti-communism on our youth comprises a number of other tasks as well. An important role is played by the struggle against the relics of the past and against anti-social phenomena. Our general aim must be to eliminate those phenomena that continue to provide a fertile soil for the infiltration of anticommunist influences into people's minds.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR DAILY ON IMPORTANCE OF PROPAGANDA WORK

AU161225 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Apr 85 p 1

[Editorial: "For More Effective Propaganda"]

[Excerpts] In the current stage of building developed socialist society, propaganda work is exceptionally important at the same time exceptionally demanding. This arises from the fact that the class struggle in the world has been escalating, but also from the fact that the level of people's knowledge has risen, and the standard of propaganda work on all levels must be adapted to this. Any superficiality, inconsistency, noninvolvement, dullness, or formalism in ideological activity might cause the formation of an incorrect view or manifest itself negatively in people's behavior. Therefore, in all primary party organizations and all party bodies it is necessary to devote systematic attention to propaganda work.

Today it is no longer enough for a propagandist or worker from the sphere of propaganda to propagate the good experience acquired from the construction of socialism. In propaganda work it will always be very important to draw attention to the experience of the best, draw lessons from them, and methodically disseminate their experience. But more than that is involved. Above all, one has to realize that the views and sentiments of the working people are not formed under the influence of our successes alone, but also under the influence of shortcomings and difficulties. Therefore today's propagandist or worker from the sphere of propaganda must conduct discussions and also polemicize about problems and burning issues. Conducting polemics is not only the foundation of success, but also an effective method in developing and tempering the personality of propaganda workers.

Naturally, we do not have in mind polemics that would be welcome by the enemies of socialism. We must be interested in creative polemics that ripple stagnant waters, that rouse and activate communists and other citizens who wish to contribute creatively to building socialism.

The situation in Soviet society has many parallels with our present. Its and our successes and problems are very close. Thus, instruction as to how to proceed is at hand. Also instruction as to how to proceed in propaganda. The Soviet communists proceed from the idea that the effectiveness of propaganda is, above all, determined by qualities such as scientificity, thoughtfulness, and realism. "These qualities," says the report of the June 1983 session

of the CPSU Central Committee, "are understandably necessary in critical material dealing with problems, as well as in material dealing with our successes. What sort of successes are they actually? How were they achieved? How can they be proliferated even more?--that is how Lenin viewed this issue. We must recall this because panegyrists [chvalenkari] have not yet disappeared."

Also in our country panegyrists have not disappeared. At the same time nothing casts so much doubt on the effectiveness and thoughtfulness of propaganda as panegyric. People cannot stand it. They see, they know reality and cannot reconcile themselves to someone telling them bull. One untruth, one panegyric is enough to invalidate even a hundred truths and ideas that are necessary and valuable, and useful. In propaganda and ideological work no physical laws apply. On scales, one untruth is much heavier than a ton of truths. Therefore realism and truthfulness are immensely important in the sphere of propaganda.

And one more thing should be taken more to heart by us communists, in all posts. We must get rid of the aura of infallibility. We are people of flesh and blood, therefore we are also entitled to make a mistake. However, we must honestly and openly admit a mistake or an error, draw a lesson from it and, if possible, avoid making it in the future. That, however, does not mean that a different mistake cannot occur in the future. This is natural and human. Everything new and progressive carries within it many risks and therefore also the chance of making a mistake. A person does not acquire an aura of infallibility by being able to live without without mistakes. That is not credible. A person acquires authority through his attitude toward mistakes, toward their elimination. Here we must exert more effort. Communists, party bodies and organizations cannot cover up or touch up mistakes and errors (also not their own). They must be openly admitted, analyzed, and lessons drawn from them. This course already constitutes a strong and propagandistically effective argument.

When talking about propaganda we mean--as a rule--only the propagandist aktiv and workers in the sphere of propaganda. However, all economic ranking personnel, all party functionaries, all communists are active in propaganda. All those who assess the standard of our propaganda must proceed from this fact. Yes, we journalists are also occasionally guilty of superficiality and panegyric, and also of the fact that we do not always reflect our present, nor in a party-minded way, and do not sufficiently demandingly draw a lesson from it in broader national contexts. However, more than once we are led to this not by our incompetence, but by obstructions, speculations, and lack of seriousness on the part of some economic ranking personnel that inform journalists in a way that suits them, to their advantage. They avoid openness, and then an article that is supposed to analyze the situation in this or that production organization turns out to be a distortion of that situation. The consequence? The employees of the organization and the rest of the readers who discover the distortion also lose faith in other articles that are objective and truthful.

In the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and of the party's policy an exceptionally exacting demand applies--a maximum scientificness and maximum popularization. This is neither an easy demand nor is it easy to fulfill. Theoretical institutes, no matter in what sphere of social sciences, are distancing

themselves from popularization, they underestimate it. Many of our scientists--please, do not take offense--work with such conceptual [pojmovy] apparatus and formulate their ideas in such a complex manner that the circle of their readers has been narrowing. As if it were their ambition to be able to speak and write so unintelligibly and in such a narrowly specialized manner as to render another theoretician in the same discipline but with different specialization helpless over their texts of lectures. We must not permit such a trend. Social services also cannot be allowed to be dominated by self-seeking and scholasticism. Precisely in the interest of greater effectiveness of propaganda, scientific institutes must strive for popularization. After all, a better interconnection between scientificity and popularization is not the task of propagandists alone. It is the task of everyone who works with people and wants to be with the times.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW SCHOOL LAW ANALYZED, INTERPRETED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 27 Mar 85 pp 1, 4

[Article by Karel Cepicka, deputy minister of education of the Czech Socialist Republic, and Marta Vlacihova, first deputy minister of education of the Slovak Socialist Republic: "The Goals and Essence of the School Laws"]

[Excerpts] The current school year is characterized by the fact that students, for the first time, entered the first grade of the middle schools within the framework of fulfilling the mandatory 10 years of school attendance. They are studying at middle schools in which, in compliance with the substantive reorganization of the basic school, and beginning on 1 October 1984, we have gradually introduced a new concept of educational work.

In this connection, it is necessary to remind readers that 1 October 1984 saw the beginning of the validity of new school laws--Law No 29/1984 Sb [Collection of Laws], dealing with the entire system of basic and middle schools (the school law), which was approved by the Federal Assembly of the CSSR on 26 March 1984, and the amended laws of the national councils (the law on school installations and the law on state administration within the educational system).

The most significant change which the new school law brings with it is the lengthening of the period of mandatory school attendance from 9 to 10 years. This significant step to elevate the educational and cultural level of the people of our nation and to further deepen the democratization of our educational system, has a broad effect--as the law shows--and ties in with a number of other legal provisions and, primarily, with life and work in the schools.

Mandatory 10-year school attendance is, for the most part realized anyway because, as a rule, 8 years are spent in basic school and 2 years in the first two classes of middle school. Even though much has been written about this "innovation" and much has been explained, not everyone has fully understood its essence. This is understandable, since perhaps everyone begins with their own experiences and then compares them to new experiences.

Since the law on the unity of schools was adopted in 1948, our youth always fulfilled the obligation to attend school for 8 or 9 years in basic schools,

that is to say in one school where they simultaneously attain the first degree of education--the basic education. After fulfilling the mandatory school attendance provision, boys and girls have the right to depart to enter gymnasias, specialized middle schools, to enter apprenticeship arrangements and to prepare themselves for further careers in specialized training centers or apprentice schools and centers for practical education or to enter the labor force and go directly to work.

Today, the situation is different. According to the intentions expressed in the new school law, the basic school, formed by a 4-year first degree and a 4-year second degree, provides merely the fundamentals of education and is not conceived as a completed first cycle in the education of an individual, as had been the case thus far, but is an open system which, together with the middle schools, forms a substantive and organizational whole. After graduation, that is to say after 8 years, a student cannot enter the labor force, since he has not completed the mandatory time of school attendance, but must continue in institutional education in one of three types of middle schools. If he does well, he attains the first degree of education--a middle-level education--at the end of the second year of attending middle school, that is to say after 10 years of school attendance.

It is precisely the fact that we implement mandatory school attendance in basic schools and in middle schools which attests to their organizational connection. However, we are not concerned only with the organizational side but the substantive connection, which is reflected in basic pedagogical documents, is not any less important. The curriculum of the first years of middle school ties in with the teaching programs of the 8th year of basic school, something which existed thus far only in the case of gymnasias and specialized middle schools. This means that, with respect to newly conceived teaching specialties at specialized middle school training centers, instruction began, effective 1 October 1984, in accordance with new teaching programs which also tie in with the curriculum of the 8th year of the basic school. Thus, the specialized middle school training centers become a middle school which, with respect to vertical progression and value is equal to the remaining two types of middle schools.

We have said that mandatory 10-year school attendance is realized, for the most part or generally in 8 years in basic school and the first 2 years of middle school. Why for the most part or generally? We will continue to have the type of student who will not be successful in mastering the subject matter of individual classes in basic schools and who, because of their lack of success, will not be promoted to the next grade. These students will be able to continue, and possibly complete, their 10 years of mandatory school attendance in the basic schools or, after 8 years of attendance at basic school, will be able to, from the 7th or 6th grade, enter a specialized middle school training center, will be able to attend training departments with specially adjusted educational programs and plans in which the curriculum ties in with the 6th year of basic school.

We consider the second possibility to be advantageous from many viewpoints, because we are dealing with children who, if they remained at the basic school,

might become "educational problems" and with respect to whom it is necessary to seek further motivation, precisely through the means of the acquisition of manual dexterity. Students who will tread this path will fulfill their 10-year mandatory school attendance at the end of the 2d year at the SOU [specialized middle school training center] but will not attain a middle school education. The attained specialized qualification will be adequate for the execution of working activity in areas falling into the lower qualification classes.

From the above concrete case it follows that we are touching upon an additional significant point of the new school law, which is the detachment of the degree of education from specialized qualification. This is a new development contained in Law No 63/1978 Sb, which is retained in the new law and is reflected in additional connections.

The lowest attained degree of education now is--as we have already said--the middle level education. The duration of most of the topics taught is more than 2 years and, therefore, a substantial portion of the youth will continue their education until the final examinations even after they have completed the 10 years of mandatory school attendance, to use the final examination in order to attain their specialized qualification. Those young people who attend a given department for 4 years will complete their education by successfully passing the maturity examination and will gain a complete middle school education. It is important to stress that study departments at SOU facilities offer their graduates appropriate specialized qualifications. Similarly, graduates of gymnasia, who have passed their maturity examinations in their specialized subjects, that is to say in a group of specialized subjects studied, attain a specialized qualification for selected work functions and activities in various sectors of our national economy.

We have already stressed that the most significant change which the new school law expresses legislatively is the lengthening of the mandatory school attendance from 9 to 10 years. This means that boys and girls no longer have only the right to depart for education at a middle school but their obligation lies in continuing their studies at one of three different types of middle schools and to complete their mandatory 10 years of school attendance. In this connection, however, it is necessary to stress that no one in the 8th year of basic school chooses a narrowly circumscribed profession but, rather, a widely conceived study or training specialty in that all three types of middle schools are vertically, and during the first 2 years also horizontally, penetrable.

In order to keep such transfers or corrections of choice to a minimum, the system of educational counseling, professional orientation and career choosing is being improved with respect to quality. Therefore, we are seeking not only more enlightened methods of counseling but we are making efforts to promote closer cooperation between the school and the family in selecting a career; these methods must crystallize prior to the 8th year of basic school. We are concerned that the educational counselor, the classroom teacher and other teachers, doctors and appropriate specialists from pedagogical-psychological counseling facilities, from trade unions, enterprises and organizations,

together with parents find the so-called most correct subsequent path for the child which corresponds to his capabilities, interest, state of health and the needs of our national economy.

The SOU's are the strongest stream in middle school education and will, annually, accept approximately 60 percent of students finishing the newly conceived basic school. For the first time in the history of this educational system, which was designated by the term "apprentice education" for many years, these schools have become vertically passable and on an equal footing with the other types of middle schools. Boys and girls--as the new legal provisions specify--can attain specialized qualifications, a medium education and even complete middle school educations at the SOU's. By taking the maturity examination and attaining a complete middle school education, opportunities are open to them even for study at advanced schools. The primary and main task of the SOU's, however, is the preparation of qualified workers in 2- and 3-year teaching courses and in 4-year study courses, preparation of workers who are not only manually dexterous, able to work with modern machines and with highly specialized equipment, but particularly of carriers of progressive traditions of the working class, the foremost creators of the socialist homeland.

The law characterizes the gymnasium as a general education polytechnical middle school, offering youth a complete middle school education as well as specialized preparation. The introduction of specialized subjects which facilitate specialized preparation in selected departments in gymnasia is not motivated by a desire to create a certain competition for the SOU, albeit on a lower specialized level. The main purpose behind the substantive rebuilding of the gymnasium-type education, a restructuring which is truly progressive and modern, is to react in this type of middle school to the requirement of a developed socialist society during a period of rapid scientific-technical development when basic technical and economic knowledge are becoming components of general polytechnical education on a regular basis. Consequently, in its new concept, we thoroughly implement working education, a polytechnical principle throughout the work of educating and that is why we insert subjects of specialized training into the content of this work--training in which students familiarize themselves in theory and in practice with the application of modern scientific knowledge and technical knowledge in production and in the economy and, on the basis of their study in the field which they have selected and which is production-oriented, and by passing the maturity examination, these students at the gymnasia also attain a specialized qualification for selected working activities and functions.

However, the primary task of a gymnasium is, in the sense of the subject document, to prepare students for study at advanced schools and that is why the fundamental changes which are occurring at the gymnasium on the basis of the intentions expressed in the law, were conditioned primarily by this fact. The modernization of the content of the gymnasium education is aimed at raising the quality of preparation of the majority of graduates who are departing to study at advanced school departments which are, from the all-national viewpoint, priority areas, that is to say technical departments, economic departments, agricultural departments and natural science departments.

Specialized middle schools, to differentiate them from gymnasia, primarily prepare specialists for all sectors of our national economy and social life. Section 16 of Law No 29/1984 Sb states: The specialized middle school prepares candidates for the execution of specialized activities, particularly technical-economic activity, health care functions, social, administrative, economic, pedagogic, artistic, cultural activities and for the execution of worker professions.

Basic schools with expanded language training are followed, at the gymnasium level, by classes with intensive language training. Students accepted for these classes must prove the level of their language knowledge in a placement examination. This means even those who have gained their knowledge by different methods than attending basic school classes with expanded language training. Students of basic schools with expanded mathematics and natural science subject training find a broader pallet of special subjects at the gymnasium level. These are classes for especially talented mathematicians, further there are classes with special emphasis on mathematics and physics or those specializing in programming and automatic data processing equipment.

5911

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FIGURES ON BRATISLAVA'S GROWTH

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 85 p 3

[Article: "Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] Between 1946 and 1984 some 123,000 apartments, concentrated mainly in large settlements, were built. The most extensive--now numbering roughly 100,000 population--is Petržalka, where construction continues. The largest number of apartments--in excess of 21,000--was erected between 1971 and 1980. The principal supplier of construction work involved in the comprehensive apartment construction projects is the large-scale enterprise entitled Pozemni stavby of Bratislava. In recent years construction enterprises from Humenne, Nitra, Kosice, Zilina, Trnava, Poprad, Brno and Pezinok have participated in municipal development.

Some 150,000 of the citizens of Bratislava are workers. Bratislava industrial enterprises last year produced merchandise valued at nearly 41 billion korunas. This is roughly 10 times the value of merchandise produced in 1945. Current industrial production in Bratislava is principally accounted for by chemical and rubber industry enterprises.

The Danube is an inseparable part of the city. It is 300 meters wide and its annual average flow is 2,000 cubic meters of water per second. The distance of the port of Bratislava from the Black Sea is some 1,868 km along the Danube. The consistent development of water transport has required the establishment of a new harbor, Palenisko.

Bratislava is a young city. Some 98,000 children below the age of 14 live here, and more than 234,000 people in their productive years, as well as almost 68,000 retirees. Of the overall number of inhabitants, 52.4 percent are women. They account for 47.2 percent of all those who are productively employed.

Since liberation, Bratislava physical education and sports have been characterized by a doubling of the number of physical education units and sports components and by a tripling of their memberships. Today, the city has 1,130 playing fields and stadiums, 212 gymnasiums and sports halls, 15 covered and 17 open swimming pools, 3 covered winter stadiums and 14 marinas.

Since liberation, the number of post offices has tripled, communications facilities have been modernized, including the use of computer technology. The number of telephone subscribers has grown from 5,542 in 1945 to 205,578 last year, of which one-third account for telephones in apartments.

The growth of retail turnover over four decades expresses a constantly improving security for personal consumption. Only since 1955 retail turnover has increased 5.5-fold. Whereas 30 years ago it accounted for not quite 2 billion korunas, last year the volume was valued at virtually 10.5 billion korunas.

The capital city of the Slovak Socialist Republic is a significant advanced school center. During the last 20 years alone, the number of students at advanced schools rose from 20,930 to 31,938. Of this number, more than 15,000 are studying at the Slovak Advanced School of Technology, not quite 9,000 at the Komenius University and the remainder at other schools.

Numerous cultural and enlightenment institutions are concentrated in Bratislava, which is also the political, administrative and cultural center of Slovakia. There are 8 permanent theaters, 26 motion picture theaters, 43 libraries, galleries, museums, film, television and radio studios and other institutions.

Socialist society care for man and his health has been reflected in the favorable development of health care installations in the city. After 1948, institutions taking care of the universal development of health care services were gradually built up. These include, for example, the Virological Institute, transfusion stations, a children's clinic, the Research Institute of Oncology, five new polyclinics, a hospital with a polyclinic and an infectious disease department at Kramary, and other institutions.

Nine times more people were transported by the municipal mass transport facility [in 1984] as was the case in 1945. Last year, some 324.5 million travelers were involved. The length of streetcar, trolleybus and bus lines is now five times what it was [in 1945] and has reached virtually 400 km. The largest number of passengers use the bus service--59 percent of the total number of passengers.

5911

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRATISLAVA'S ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 85 p 3

[Interview with Academician Vladimir Cirbes, deputy chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences: "Scientists Speak About Their City"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Bratislava has more than 17 middle schools, 7 advanced schools, the majority of institutes of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, more than 50 industry research institutes, central organs of the Slovak Academy, scientific-technical societies and scientific institutes of the SAV [Slovak Academy of Sciences]. The capital city of the Slovak Socialist Republic is, thus, an important center of education and science. With this topic in mind, we spoke with Academician Vladimir Cirbes, deputy chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

[Question] Comrade academician, do you believe that Bratislava advanced schools form a good basis for the education of scientific cadres?

[Answer] Basically, yes. After all, almost 30,000 students attend these institutions on a daily basis. The predominant portion of the natural science and technological departments have a relatively high number of graduates to choose from for scientific activity. More complicated and less satisfying, however, is the situation with respect to sources for the social sciences, with the exception of some disciplines such as, for example, economics. However, in recent times, on the basis of party and government resolutions, work with respect to the further perfection of the system of educating scientific cadres has been developing. In this respect, the cooperation between the SAV and the advanced schools stands in first place.

[Question] Workers of the SAV are active not only at scientific workplaces but at advanced schools and industrial research institutes. To what extent does the SAV participate in solving questions involving the development of Bratislava?

[Answer] Our credo is that scientific workers who live and work in the city cannot be indifferent or feel like strangers with respect to its problems. In order for the participation of the academy in solving these problems received an organized basis, we concluded an agreement with respect to cooperation with

the National Committee of the Capital City of Bratislava in 1981. Its focus lies with the utilization of the research potential, particularly regarding the biological-ecological and biological-medical sciences, city planning and architecture, the economic and historical sciences, ethnography and art history.

Representatives of the city value the results which we have attained, primarily in the creation and preservation of the environment, in the cleaning up of contaminated groundwater around the Slovnaft enterprise, in raising the level of health of the citizens on the basis of improved prevention and diagnostic methods, in solving urban planning and architectonic problems of the old city and new settlements. The contribution of the social sciences in working out the principal directions of social, economic development in Bratislava and in recognizing its history, has also not been negligible.

[Question] The specific creation of conditions to integrate science and production is one of the principal tasks of the academy. Which forms of this type of integration with Bratislava enterprises and organizations have proven effective?

[Answer] Various forms of this kind of integration were created in Bratislava at the beginning of the seventies and continue to be perfected--beginning with the comprehensive rationalization brigades, joint enterprise and SAV workplaces and, finally, scientific-production associations or scientific-pedagogic-production associations. We are now entering the next phase, which presupposes that the academy will select its own realization base with respect to selected research areas.

Experience shows that each of the above-mentioned forms has its advantages. However, joint research and development workplaces and scientific-production associations are at the forefront. During recent years, their numbers have emphatically increased.

[Question] And what is Bratislava's place in international scientific cooperation?

[Answer] It is one of the cities which have gained a permanent place and good reputation, by direct participation in solving research programs but also through initiative in organizing significant international scientific activities. It is not possible to disremember that, in January 1981, the International Laboratory for Artificial Intelligence began its activity in January 1981 in Bratislava--at the Institute of Technical Cybernetics of the SAV--which employs almost 40 specialists from the socialist countries. At the Electronics Institute of the SAV, January of this year saw the beginning of the activities of the International Laboratory for Technical Utilization of Superconductivity. This represents a new quality in the development of international socialist integration in science.

5911
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CSSR-BULGARIAN CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA--Zdenek Cernik, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, received in Prague on Thursday [28 March] a delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bulgarian People's Republic led by Aleksandur Atanasov, which from 26 to 29 March took part in interministerial consultations on the problems of the African continent. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Mar 85 p 2 AU]

ELECTRONICS IMPORTS--According to Milan Kubat, CSSR minister of electrotechnical industry, Czechoslovakia will increase its imports of electronic components from the USSR 50 percent this year compared with 1984. Kubat said this in opening an exhibition of the Soviet Elektronorgtechnika (ELORG) all-Union Production Association in Prague on 28 March. ELORG displays in Prague the SM 1300.01 computer system, the ISKRA 226 computer, electronic cash registers, a set of software programs, electronic computers of standardized system, as well as electronic components. The exhibition, which is held in the exhibition hall of the USSR's trade representative office in Prague, will last until 5 April. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Mar 85 p 5 AU]

CSSR ROADS--The CSSR road network currently totals 73,500 km, of which 454 km are motorways. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Mar 85 p 5 AU]

PROCESSING OF CUBAN CANE--The Prague Sugar Refineries concern enterprise is the monopoly processor of Cuban sugarcane in the CSSR. Its three plants--in Melnik, Cakovice and Kostelec--will process about 120,000 metric tons of Cuban sugarcane these days. [Excerpt] [Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Apr 85 p 1 AU]

CZECH SAVINGS, CREDITS--Citizens of the Czech Socialist Republic deposited some Kcs 9 billion with the Czech State Savings Bank in the first 2 months of 1985 and, within the same period, withdrew about Kcs 6 billion from their savings accounts. Their total deposits now exceed Kcs 143 billion. In 1984, the Czech State Savings Bank paid out to the citizens Kcs 6.5 billion. [Summary] [Prague LIDOVA DEMOCRACIE in Czech 2 Apr 85 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2400/356

HUNGARY

CHURCHES ISSUE COMMEMORATIVE STATEMENTS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Apr 85 p 4

[Unsigned article: "The Churches on the Liberation; Circular Letters, Ceremonial Statements"]

[Text] The churches and denominations in Hungary have recalled the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland in circular letters and ceremonial statements.

The circular letter of the Hungarian Catholic Bench of Bishops states: "The new socialist social, political and economic order, the fundamental goal of which was the creation of a more just and more human life, began in our homeland 40 years ago. We cannot set up a balance of the four decades here. But we must recall that in the initial period it was necessary to overcome many sorts of difficulties, obstacles and lack of understanding. Nor should we make a secret of the problems of the present; not because we should look for errors but rather so that we might progress even more effectively on the path of development. Our church also has joined in building our socialist social order and in setting its goals. The experience of four decades has shown that problems can be settled in a constructive way with mutual good will and respect for mutual advantages. Thus it could happen that the initial suspicion and confrontation dissolved and an atmosphere of constructive cooperation developed. We also note with pleasure that the relations which have developed between state and church are valued highly even internationally," the circular letter emphasizes, and then notes in conclusion: "We cannot relieve ourselves of our social responsibility, especially today, when our church is assuming a commitment to social progress throughout the world together with other people."

The Presidential Council of the Synod of the Reformed Church in Hungary also recalled the 40th anniversary of the liberation in a circular letter. The circular letter states: "A radical social transformation began in our homeland with the liberation, and this represented a historic turning point for the churches as well. It is our conviction and our experience that the believing people of the Reformed Church in Hungary feel at home in this homeland today. Enriched by the experiences of four decades, we heartily confess that we will share in the tasks standing before the country and in the responsibility for the future with active patriotism. We also must contribute to the development of our homeland, to the ever fuller realization of high moral values and to the solution of problems and tasks," the circular letter emphasizes in conclusion.

The National Presbytery of the Evangelical Church in Hungary emphasizes in its holiday statement: "History has taught us that the building of socialism and the preservation of peace, which means life, prompt the religious and the non-religious people in our homeland to unite and work together. We profess as ours everything which our people have created in the past 40 years. For this reason we consider it our obligation to continue to work with responsibility for the preservation and further development of it," the statement says, and then emphasizes: "We, the National Presbytery of the Evangelical Church in Hungary, summon the pastors, presbyters and every member of our congregations to serving love, honest work, patriotism and engagement for the life and happier tomorrow of our neighbors and fellow men."

In its holiday statement the Hungarian Israelite Denomination states: "Four decades ago the Hungarian Jews could step from the prison of mortal fear, horror and humiliated body and spirit onto a path of human dignity and the promise of a future. Our lives cost the lives of 140,000 Soviet heroes and saving our co-religionists languishing in the death camps of neighboring countries cost hundreds of thousands more. So it is natural that we not only worry about but also should act for the treasured peace; let our voice be heard in every forum against the newly threatening efforts endangering the security of the entire world. Because we have more to fear for than ever before; our country is a home of peaceful creativity and family and human love which would like to perfect the future of all its citizens in tranquility. We trust absolutely in that progressive world system which works in the interest of the future of mankind--and not its annihilation--on the basis of the principles of full social equality without regard to race, religion or nationality."

From the holiday statement of the Council of Free Churches in Hungary: "We participate readily in the work organized by the Patriotic People's Front on every occasion. We are ready to work together with every man of good will, serving the cause of world peace, in the service of creating and preserving peace. We are ready to cooperate in the work of the Christian Peace Conference, the National Peace Council and the Interchurch Peace Committee of the National Peace Council both here at home and beyond our borders," the statement emphasizes.

8984

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HUNGARY

BRIEFS

CONSUMER GOODS SHORTAGE--In Hungary also in the coming period the food supply will be of a good standard but we have to reckon with the fact that the selection in certain durable consumer goods will still not be satisfactory and shortages may also occur. This was said by Miklos Andriko, state secretary in the Ministry of Domestic Trade, at the session of the Presidium of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT]. He said that new measures have been taken in the interest of continuous supply at the weekends and at the beginning of every week. For example, the meat industry will be producing also at the weekend. The objective of commerce continues to be to reduce the shortage of industrial goods by increasing the incentives for producers and the organization of production. The state secretary also said that there are now bigger stocks of building materials than last year and this is favorable for private builders. Some small-sized bricks and roofing tiles will also be imported from abroad in order to improve the supply. The choice of durable consumer goods has somewhat improved, but there is an inadequate selection of refrigerators and television sets and they are not always in sufficient. The import of consumer goods will somewhat increase this year and this will serve mainly to make up for the shortages. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Apr 85]

NEW FINNISH AMBASSADOR--Budapest, 12 Apr (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, met on Friday Arto Mansala, incoming ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland to Hungary, who presented his credentials. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1813 GMT 12 Apr 85]

SPRING FLOODS, CROP DAMAGE--The Vas county farms are damaged by spring floods and the remaining internal waters. More than 10,000 hectares have been flooded, of which 2,700 hectares are under wheat. Autumn barley, rape, and feed crops have also been harmed. The floods have also washed away the fertilizer and the cut poplars. Sowing also has been delayed. In Borsod-Abauj-zemlen County, the flooded area has been reduced by two-thirds in the past few days from 10,000 hectares--of which 5,000 is agricultural land--to 3,000 hectares. Although the internal water alert has been lifted, the pumps continue to work, transferring daily 1 million cubic meters of water into rivers or streams. The water level of rivers of the county is declining, but on the Arokkoe-Ujloerinc stretch of the Tisza River a first degree floor protection alert is maintained. [Summary] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 5 Apr 85]

NEW IRAQI AMBASSADOR--Gyorgy Lazar, premier of the Council of Ministers, and Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly received on his introductory visit Dr Afif 'Isa al-Rawi, ambassador of the Republic of Iraq. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Mar 85 p 14 AU]

POLAND

DIRECTOR DISCUSSES PILOT TRAINING CENTER

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 4, 27 Jan 85 p 3

[Interview with Col Pilot Mgr Bronislaw Janus, Director, Flight Personnel Training Center, by Julian Wozniak: "Indispensable School"]

[Text] [Question]: Coming back to our interviewee, we think that the current situation of OSPL [Osrodek Szkolenia Personelu Lotniczego = Flight Personnel Training Center] on the country's aviation map provides the occasion to talk about this pilot academy in Rzeszow, this time calmly.

[Answer] I think so, particularly because the center has had a lot of discussion devoted to it since its very inception, and there have been all sorts of views and often contradictory ideas concerning the wisdom of creating this institution.

[Question] Up until recently, even, you have had many devoted allies, but it turns out that there have also been stubborn adversaries, haven't there?

[Answer] I would not call them adversaries. They are simply people who hold different views. But their numbers are declining, because we are entering a period of urgent necessity to create a specific pilot training system to insure a consistent flow of personnel, mainly flight crews for civil aviation. A paradoxical situation was created in the old flight training system. Unlike other professions, like technician, engineer, merchant marine officer, deep-sea fisherman, or even truck driver, not to mention many other example, the pilot's profession does not require graduation from any sort of school. In the light of current regulations, it is enough to acquire the theoretical knowledge, undergo some sort of essential practical experience, and pass the examination. This is entirely sufficient to become a pilot. This is just the way the necessary qualifications are acquired.

[Question] This is rather surprising, in times when pilots should be required to have exceptionally careful preparation, isn't it?

[Answer] Of course. It is not without a bit of sarcasm that I tell you that other ministries could save a great deal of money if they were to avail themselves of aviation's system for personnel training. This would be the thriftiest method of training. There would be no need for us to maintain a tremendous network of technical schools and institutions of higher education. Fortunately,

current civil aviation officials -- I have in mind the General Civil Aviation Administration -- have set upon resolving this problem in a realistic, rational way and have undertaken an in-depth review of current aviation regulations and a program to update the regulations in this area.

[Question:] How is this being manifested?

[Answer:] For one thing, in setting the demarcation of jurisdiction and realms of authority. These proposals are aimed at the mass training of pilots at the basic level, that is, up to the private airplane pilot's license, to be handled by the flying clubs. This goal is fully justified, because it is the organizational capacity and efficiency of operation of these associations, that is, the Polish Flying Club (Aeroklub PRL), that determines the future of all Polish civil and military aviation. It is at this level that the selection of candidates and initial training should take place, and then after this selection and basic practical instruction, candidates should receive referrals from the flying clubs in two directions: to the military and to civil aviation (to receive further training and higher ratings in aviation). Military aviation has its own training facilities, and civil aviation should have the same. Civil aviation officials are showing great interest in this, but the final decision also will depend on other ministries.

[Question:] You cannot say that these are the first efforts to set up civil aviation training. The OSPL has been operating in Rzeszow for 8 years. Could you please give us a short description of the operations up till now?

[Answer:] Up to the present time 70 young people have received a commercial pilot's license along with a Rzeszow Polytechnika master's degree in aviation engineering while attending our program. Graduates from our first class are already flying for Lot Polish Airlines, and students from our second class are in special Lot training programs, while those from our third class are just about ready to begin training. Others are in military service and will enter civil aviation after their civic duty has been performed. Alongside this basic group we have trained 45 helicopter pilots and 30 airplane pilots without a college diploma, outside the polytechnic program, besides the more than 40 pilots who have earned pilot instructor's certificates from us.

[Question:] But many pilots have upgraded their ratings with you here.

[Answer:] Yes. In civil aviation preparation there is a certain gap, because Lot was the only organizational unit capable of training for the instrument rating required for flying IFR [under instrument flight rules, i.e., under instrument meteorological conditions]. We are proud at Rzeszow to have gone to that trouble and to have trained more than 100 pilots throughout the country for instrument flying.

[Question:] Does all this add up to a satisfactory result?

[Answer:] By no means. We would like to feel still more helpful and train more pilots. After this period of diminished civil aviation activity (which has had an impact on our operations) we foresee a greater demand for pilots.

But this in turn is tied to the possibility of our institution's obtaining more aircraft, and the expansion of our base is important too. A residence will go into operation this very year, and next year we will get our own cafeteria and greatly increase our instruction facilities. We have also started building our own hangar. We are counting very much on having all these investment projects completed on time. Each year we sense understanding on the part of officials in the political administration of Rzeszow Voivodship. We cannot find much to complain about in the contracting firms carrying out the investments. We have great hopes for beginning entirely new forms of activity as our base is expanded. I have not yet told any journalist this, but I will make an exception and let SKRZYDIATA POLSKI be the first to know that we have received several attractive offers from abroad to train pilots, but up until now we have not wanted to accept any of them, although the instruction facilities and equipment we have are good enough, because we are not yet fully prepared to accept foreign guests. We do not have the proper housing and cafeteria facilities for them. We do not want this sort of makeshift arrangement to impact the overall assessment of our institution. We will accept the offers once we are fully prepared, and I am convinced that then we will pull in a lot of valuable foreign currency for the government coffers.

[Question:] What are OSPL's most urgent needs?

[Answer:] To finish the investments already under way, and then to finally have some sort of real, concrete vision of a general aircraft which would make it possible for us to give comprehensive pilot training.

[Question:] Are you talking about an all-purpose airplane?

[Answer:] At OSPL we have a variety of aircraft. Circumstances forced us to this, so that we could carry on basic flight training along with commercial training. To meet the need be bought Koliber PZL-100's, An-2's, the Wilga, and also the Mewa M-20. We were counting on making the last one our basic aircraft, but unfortunately we were overly optimistic. We are still waiting for a small, practical airplane suitable for various sorts of training, that is, an all-purpose aircraft. On the other hand, we are not having any problem with helicopters. Our domestic Mi-2's fully satisfy our needs.

[Question:] And the new Orlik airplane, which recently had its test flights?

[Answer:] It is still too early to tell.

[Question:] We are holding this interview at the beginning of a new year. What are your New Year's aspirations?

[Answer:] I dream for our flying school to be needed in civil aviation, for it to provide pilots with thorough, comprehensive and simultaneously modern preparation, so that our graduates will be worthy representatives of our establishment.

[Question:] I hope your dream is fulfilled.

[caption over photograph:] At OSPL's Jasionka airport. In the An-2 cockpit: Instructor Pilot Henryk Pawik and Rzeszow Politechnika student Andrzej Brzezinski.

ROMANIA

RCP 13TH CONGRESS, FIVE YEAR PLAN REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 2, Feb 85 (signed to press 14 Jan 85)
pp 167-171

[Article by Gerd Vehres, political staff member of the SED Central Committee:
"Romanian Communists Set New Goals"]

[Text] The Romanian communists' top forum convened at a moment of significance for the country. Socialist Romania entered the fifth decade of the people's power. The 13th RCP Congress from 19 to 22 November 1984 drew up the balance -sheet not only for the last 5 years since the 12th congress, but for the entire period of people's power. With it, the 3,114 delegates looked to efforts ahead. Hammer and sickle in a wreath of corn and the letters RCP--that was the party emblem adorning the front wall of the large hall in Bucharest's Congress Palace, under which the delegates of the 3.4 million communists of Romania conferred and decided on the new tasks in continuing socialist construction. They discussed the long-range plans for the country's socioeconomic development up to 1990 and the main trends up to 2000, the further consolidation of the party's leadership role and the perfecting of the activity of the state and its organs, as well as the improving of the management system in economic and public life. An important spot in the Central Committee report on party activity since the 12th congress and the future tasks, submitted by President Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, furthermore, was devoted to the international situation and Romania's foreign policy.

With pride the Romanian communists pointed to the successes they had brought along to the party congress. Forty years are a brief span in history. Yet what fundamental changes have been achieved in all sectors of public life! The times in which Romania was economically backward and an object of imperialist intrigues and power politics are irretrievably past. Under its CP leadership the Romanian people, as Nicolae Ceausescu affirmed, passed through several historic phases, from the former bourgeois-manorial society to constructing the all-round developed socialist society of the present. "From an agrarian country, Romania has turned into an industrial plus agrarian country with a strong modern industry and a socialist agriculture undergoing its full development." Socialist Romania is an equal member of the socialist family of peoples and takes an active part in international life.

Through all working people's strenuous efforts under RCP leadership a significant production and scientific-technological potential was created. As was emphasized at the party congress, in the years of constructing the new Romania industrial output increased more than hundredfold, agricultural output, nearly sevenfold. The rate of development in the entire economy increased the GNP by a factor of 28, the national income, by one of 32. In these four decades the consumption fund grew by a factor of 22. Six million jobs were created. Circa 80 percent of the inhabitants got new apartments.

The current Seventh Five Year Plan--as the party congress emphasized--achieved significant advances in developing the productive forces and in socioeconomic development altogether. In 1983, it produced 44.5 million tons of coal, 11.6 million tons of oil, 12.6 million tons of steel, and 70.2 billion kWh of power. In the first 2 years of the five year plan, the industrial growth rate came to 2.8 percent, in 1983, to 4.8 percent. As the party congress stated, the 1982 party conference added some amendments and improvements to the five year plan. Then they pointed to some new problems that had arisen as the result of internal contradictions and under the influence of altered international conditions. A growth rate of more than 6 percent is expected for 1984, and the 1985 plan for industrial development envisages a greater rate still.

Also for the agrarian sector the party congress referred to important successes. The grain output in those 4 years exceeded the average of the previous five year plan by circa 3 million tons, and for the entire five year plan period an increase of nearly 5 million tons is expected. Despite the unfavorable weather, Romanian agriculture in 1984 came up with a record harvest in grain and corn-cobs; one ton of grain was produced per capita. In the time since the 12th party congress--Comrade Ceausescu asserted--they struggled tenaciously to surmount contradictions, difficulties and shortfalls. It should have to be added, though, he remarked, that the achievements could have been much higher if all sectors had worked with a higher sense of responsibility.

The party congress report and discussion pointed out that, in fulfilment of the 12th party congress resolutions, socialist state power had been further consolidated, the economy been successfully developed, the accomplishments of science and technology been more efficiently used, and important advances been made in education and culture. The party congress rated such accomplishment as evidence for what socialism is capable of, as evidence for the capacity of the Romanian workers class, freed from exploitation and suppression, and in alliance with the peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia, to take its fate into its own hands and shape with success the life of the people in socialism. The RCP has grown stronger in this process, recruiting 580,000 new members since the last party congress, nearly 80 percent of them workers, who now have a 56-percent proportion in overall party membership (that of the peasants being 16, and of the members of the intelligentsia, 21 percent). The further consolidation of the party's leadership role in society requires, as the status report underscored, raising ideological work onto a higher level. Through all ideological work and party training it was necessary to ensure the study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, of the basic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

High Requirements for the Future

The 13th RCP Congress assigned important socioeconomic tasks for the next five year plan and up to the end of the century. Its directives provide for implementing the party program on further socialist construction in the years between 1986 and 1990. The chief goal lay in "resolutely carrying on the policy for creating an all-round developed socialist society and making the fatherland advance toward communism." The task was assigned for an intensive development of all industrial branches and ensuring a better balance among the various sectors. The intended intensive economic growth was combined with the requirement to modernize the production structure, improve product qualities while trimming the costs and, in particular, boost the labor productivity. Priority attention is to be given to a more rapid transfer of the data of scientific and technological progress to production, a harmonious development of the various economic branches, and the perfecting of their management mechanism.

The national income, anticipations are, is to go to a total of 1,200 billion lei in 5 years. At an annual growth rate of some 8 percent, it is an ambitious objective. The party congress decided to continue and use 70 percent of the national income for consumption and 30 percent for accumulation. These proportions conform to Romania's current stage of development. An intensive investment program has been scheduled for the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, amounting to a value of 1,350 to 1,400 billion lei. A priority is the expansion of the energy and raw material base. The RCP decided no longer to emphasize so much the extensive development of production capacities in the future but place the emphasis rather on the modernization and the raising of the technical status of extant capacities. Scientific research is being assigned the task to develop new working materials and high-grade assortments in metals, synthetics, fibre and electronic materials.

Special attention is directed at electronics and microelectronics and the development of new machines and engines low in fuel consumption. The party congress treated the development of the energy and raw material base as the crucial prerequisite for progress in the entire economy. Power production is meant to increase to between 95 and 97 billion kWh by 1990. Particular attention is given to developing a coal and oil-shale-based energy production at a share of nearly 38 billion kWh. The first power plant is expected to start supplying power; hydropower plant capacities are being further developed. For coal mining, 100 million tons are expected. As the main objective for 1990 the party congress stressed the boosting of labor productivity based on better labor and production organization, automation, and the use of cybernetics and robotics. The party congress directives set the task to increase labor productivity by more than 60 percent over 1985, in 1990.

The working people's material and cultural standard of living is supposed to rise due to the anticipated upswing in the economy. The party congress directives provide for the construction of 750,000 apartments, the introduction of the 44-hour work week, and the extension of health care. Prices in retail and for services are intended to remain stable. Full employment remains an accomplishment of socialism in Romania also. The number of employed will grow between 2.5 and 3.5 percent. The predicted number of 11.5 million working people in 1990 will be found at circa 73 percent in industry, the crafts, services, transport,

education and culture, while the proportion of those working in agriculture is estimated at 27 percent. The working people's income is to be tied more to the net revenue of economic units. The total fulfilment of the plan tasks and the effective use made of the material and financial funds in each economic unit--therein one finds the conditions for higher income.

The Romanian social and economic development guidelines the party congress passed for up to 2000 provide for carrying on, through a broad encouragement of the latest accomplishments of modern science and technology, the process of developing the material-technical base of the all-round developed socialist society. On that basis one expects to achieve the perfection of the production relations and social relations, a continuing rapprochement among the people's classes and strata. An increase was announced for the next 15 years in the industrial commodity output by 2.1 to 2.4 times and an approximate doubling of agrarian production. Automation and robotics, new technologies, tapping and using all domestic resources, 12-grade instruction for all youths, and a solution of the housing problem--such and other tasks the party congress set down through the fulfilment of which qualitative changes are sought in all sectors of public life.

For Peace and International Cooperation

In dealing with international questions, the party congress emphasized that the implementation of the plans decided on by the RCP for the socioeconomic development of the country was feasible only under the conditions of peace and international security and through the cooperation with all states, regardless of their social order. A point was made of the attention the RCP and Romania are paying to the further development of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries. There it was emphasized that everything would also be done in the future to expand the economic, scientific-technological and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and to fortify the friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union. The Central Committee report announced support for the initiatives of the Soviet Union on disarmament and on preventing the militarization of space. It made a point in this context of the important propositions Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, recently submitted.

Confirmed was the orientation to a further deepening of socialist economic integration. Romania is going to devote itself resolutely to the implementation of the accords on perfecting the activity of CEMA and to the development of trade and production cooperation. There is intended to be an active participation in economic plan coordination, production specialization and scientific and technological cooperation. To cooperation in CEMA an ever increasing role is attributed in the socioeconomic development of the member countries and the increase in the peoples' prosperity.

In view of international conditions, so says the Central Committee report as adopted by the party congress, Romania will continue to pay the necessary attention to the development of the armed forces and their political education. The army is assigned the task to play its role, under any conditions, in defending the revolutionary accomplishments and the country's independence and

sovereignty. The party congress stressed that Romania, in conformity with the obligations assumed within the Warsaw Pact, would always strengthen the cooperation with the armies of the other states and take part in the defense against any imperialist aggression.

The party congress declared that Romania, as a member of the Warsaw Pact, had actively taken part in the activity of this organization, aimed at peace, security and disarmament. Assuming that in 1985 the validity of the Warsaw Pact expires and no "accord was achieved on the simultaneous dissolution of both military blocs--NATO and the Warsaw Pact," the party congress in principle endorsed the extension of the pact and authorized that "together with the other Warsaw Pact states, appropriate resolutions be taken."

Relative to the development of the international situation the party congress stated that an unprecedented exacerbation of international affairs had taken place and the threat of another world war had grown that would inescapably lead to a nuclear catastrophe. The basic problem of our time, for that reason, was ending the arms race and, first and foremost, nuclear rearmament, and proceeding toward disarmament and the safeguarding of permanent peace in the world. As a goal of special weight the party congress stressed the RCP's search for making peace and security in Europe a reality.

In connection with solving burning issues in international development, the party congress reiterated its advocacy of a political settlement in the Near East and of granting the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people. Solidarity was announced with the people of Nicaragua, the point being made that events and life itself had proven that any attempt by reaction to block the progressive development of peoples was condemned to fail. The party congress advocated the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the communist and workers parties and holding meetings and mutual consultations, including regional and international meetings and conferences, for the free exchange of opinions. Confirmed was the obligation on the part of the RCP to prove itself also in the future an active section of the revolutionary world movement in the struggle by mankind for progress, freedom, sovereignty and peace.

Firm and permanent relations and identical fundamental goals and interests in shaping socialism and preserving and securing peace links the SED with the RCP, the GDR with Romania. The friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty of 12 May 1972 is being implemented with success and for mutual benefit in all sectors of public life. New impulses for that are invariably derived from the meetings between the top representatives of our parties and countries, comrades Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu.

Comrade Werner Krolikowski, head of the SED Central Committee delegation to the 13th RCP Congress, declared: "Since the peoples in our countries, after the world historic victory by the Soviet Union and the other countries in the antiHitler coalition over fascist barbarism 40 years ago, took their fate into their own hands, they have been working and fighting side by side."* In a congratulatory address to the party congress, signed by Comrade Erich Honecker,

*NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 November 1984, p 6.

general secretary of the SED Central Committee, the following point is made: "The GDR and Romania are linked together through their membership in the defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact and in CEMA. That is of benefit to both our countries and multiplies our capacities. It enhances the influence of socialism and is of far-reaching importance for safeguarding peace in the world."* In view of the danger of a nuclear inferno, caused by the arms build-up and confrontation policy of imperialism, so it is being asserted, our close collaboration keeps gaining further importance, and the firmly united socialist states together with all the forces of peace and social progress will be able to call a halt to the threatening development of the international situation and preserve a peaceful future for those who are living today and for future generations.

The 13th RCP Congress, re-electing Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu party general secretary, ended with a unanimous resolution on the future tasks in Romania's socialist construction. It appealed to the party and all working people to struggle with all their strength for achieving the great goals in constructing an all-round developed socialist society in Romania.

*Ibid., 19 November 1984, pp 1-2.

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CSO: 2300/346

YUGOSLAVIA

POZDERAC ON REAFFIRMATION OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

AU061826 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Apr 85 p 3

[J. Babic report]

[Excerpts] Banjaluka, 2 Apr--Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium this morning visited the Incel work organization, as part of his 7-day working visit to Banjaluka. On this occasion he had talks with the sociopolitical aktiv and management of this big collective, which employs over 6,000 workers.

Speaking about the tasks that the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session have set the entire society, Pozderac pointed out in particular the resolution to continue along Tito's self-managing road. The way out, he added, does not lie in "debarring" republican, provincial, and other statisms with a view to resuming the federal one, but in taking a resolute course toward the association of labor and pooling of resources and income-based associating in the whole of Yugoslavia. Therefore, the champions of both the rightist bourgeois orientations and the ultra-leftist, bureaucratic and statist ones have remained obviously disappointed after the 16th session [of the LCY Central Committee], because, as is known the former expected a turn toward bourgeois liberalism and the latter a turn to the real socialist concept of management.

If we need any turns, as Pozderac put it, and we certainly do need them, then they must be oriented toward even more resolute development of self-management and the inescapable responsibility for implementation of what has already been agreed. This primarily implies the reaffirmation of democratic centralism in the party and legality in the state. Without this, it may again happen that only those regulations and decisions are implemented that suit the interests of "one's own" party, republic, province, or even commune.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENSE

LD161744 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 16 Apr 85

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Apr (TANJUG)--The system of all-people's defense continued to develop smoothly during 1984. Particular attention was paid to drawing up plans to prevent the incidence and to eliminate the consequences of emergencies.

This was concluded today in a debate at separate sittings of the Bosnia-Hercegovina assembly in connection with a review of the annual reports on the work of the corresponding republican secretariat, on the state of preparations for all-people's defense and on the allocation of solidarity funds for these purposes, which were explained by Zivko Radisic, republican secretary for national defense, and his colleagues.

The delegates of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly today also gave a positive evaluation of the work of 1984 by a number of other republican organs of administration.

Zivko Radisic stressed that in 1984 in Bosnia and Hercegovina significant results had been achieved in this respect in further developing the system of mobilizing and utilizing human and material potential for the needs of the country's defense. This is evident in the objective allocation and filling out of all structures of all-people's allocation and filling out of all structures of all-people's defense, in the greater degree of coordination of mobilization preparations at the level of socio-political communities, in the elimination of weaknesses in regard to war-time arrangements, and in the increasing responsibility manifested by conscripts toward military service, especially in regard to recruitment and military exercises.

Continuing his exposition, radisic stressed that last year the municipalities made considerable efforts to ensure that the system of intelligence and reconnaissance was properly equipped. In addition civil protection is developing as a component of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection on the bases of doctrinal views in terms of its evolution and development. In training for the needs of all-people's defense, increasing attention is being paid to securing according to plan and coordination of all components, especially from the standpoint of training cadres, schoolchildren and other young people, and of joint activities through exercises.

Better and greater results were also achieved last year in the municipalities; and in equipping the communications system to handle and protect written information, raising the level of security consciousness and so forth.

Zivko Radisic also pointed to a number of deficiencies in individual environments where, for instance, only slow progress is being made toward socialization of this sphere; the structure of the territory in some places, such as in large towns, does not accord with the true material possibilities; some environments show insufficient concern for training women; insufficient use is made of the system's capacities for protection of social property, fire precautions, heightening awareness of the rules of the road and traffic safety, and so on. In the period ahead these deficiencies must be eliminated more rapidly in these environments.

In connection with drawing up medium-term and long-term development plans, Zivko Radisic stressed that in the period ahead conditions must be secured for even more smooth and effective development of the defence and protection system.

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YUGOSLAVIA

COMMENTS ON ASIA SPEECH AT HOXHA FUNERAL

ID152329 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 15 Apr 85

[Enver Hoxha buried in Tirana--Longer--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Apr (TANJUG) The mortal remains--of Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, who died on 11 April, were buried with the usual military and other honors at the "Cemetery of Fighters Fallen for the Fatherland" at Tirana today.

Radio Tirana reports that Enver Hoxha's mortal remains were seen off by thousands of citizens lining the streets along the route of the funeral cortege.

Ramiz Alia, the new first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, delivered a funeral oration in Skanderbeg square in the centre of Tirana, where the cortege stopped on the way to the cemetery.

He credited Enver Hoxha with everything that the Albanian people achieved during the national liberation war and during post-war development, stating that the Albanian Workers' Party and the Albanian Government would continue to lead the country along the same path as under Enver Hoxha's leadership. Enver Hoxha's greatest contribution was that he "unmasked the intrigues and threats of the imperialists," foiled the alleged "Anti-Albanian attacks of the Titoite revisionists," withstood the "Khrushchevites' pressures," and prevented Albania from being "deceived by the perfidy of the Chinese revisionists."

Ramiz Alia made it clear in unambiguous terms that under his leadership there would be no change in this respect and that Albania would continue to pursue the policy through which it had in practice isolated itself from its neighbors and the world in general.

From his speech it follows that the Albanian leadership will also continue the policy of interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. He paid particular tribute to Enver Hoxha for adopting this kind of attitude to Yugoslavia, saying that he "always raised his powerful voice" in defense of the allegedly endangered national and democratic rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Ramiz Alia described this as a "just and correct principle," and by doing so he appears to indicate that the Albanian leadership's policy toward Yugoslavia would continue to be based on this "principle."

The funeral was relayed in full by Albanian television. According to its relay, Nexhmir Hoxha, Enver Hoxha's widow and one of the highest-ranking personalities in the Albanian leadership, was the last to pay the last respects to his mortal remains.

The only foreign guests at the funeral were representatives of France and the DPRK.

Foreign correspondents, who are rare visitors to Albania, were not allowed to cover the funeral.

CSO: 2800/292

YUGOSLAVIA

CENTRAL PRESS TREATMENT OF HOXHA DEATH

AU151905 [Editorial Report] The 12 April issues of Belgrade BORBA and Belgrade POLITIKA in Cerbo-Croatian carry reports on the death of AWP CC First Secretary Enver Hoxha.

BORBA, on page 1, carries a 500-word factual report on the announcement citing Radio Tirana on Hoxha's death, and A-A announcements on the funeral committee and the cause of death; boxed within the report, is the telegram of condolences SFRY President Djuranovic sent to Ramiz Alia (filed as ID111812). A 1,000-word article by Vitomir Konstantinovic entitled "The End of a Long Rule" carried on page 6 includes a factual biography of Hoxha and says, near the end that "Enver Hoxha received the Cominform resolution adopted on 28 June 1948 as an occasion for realizing the essence of his political view of the world and the position and role of Albania in it." Saying that Hoxha did in fact lead Albania to almost complete isolation from the world, Konstantinovic concludes by noting that "only recently were there some indications of some changes in this situation. It is thought that Stalin's concept of rule and administration was and has remained Hoxha's only model in all these long decades."

Also on page 6, BORBA carries a 500-word factual report on the announcement by the highest party and state leadership of Albania on the occasion of Hoxha's death, citing ATA.

Belgrade POLITIKA carries on page 1 a 1,000-word TANJUG report citing Radio Tirana and ATA announcements on Hoxha's death, funeral preparations, and Hoxha's biography. Boxed within the latter, there is also a 150-word report on the announcement on the cause of death, citing ATA.

On page [?] POLITIKA carries Djuranovic's condolences message and three reports by its correspondents in Moscow, Rome, and Paris on reaction to Hoxha's death in those cities. In his 500-word report, Moscow Correspondent D. Pesic states that Radio Moscow first announced Hoxha's death in its English program and that there has been no other reaction so far, but that political circles and foreign observers believe that Moscow is interested in improving relations with Albania. The report ends with a factual review of Soviet-Albanian relations. Rome correspondent V. Kraljevic has a 200-word report on Italians being informed about Hoxha's death only in the afternoon programs and Italy's interest in relations with Albania. In his 500-word report, Paris correspondent A. Prlja says that the first commentary there was always close to him, and that contacts at a relatively high level were initiated during Hoxha's time, including the visit Secretary of State Baylet will pay to Albania, most probably on 29 May.

YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIAN WRITER REFUTES MUHIC CRITICISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 85 pp 42-43

[Article by Niko Grafenauer: "Fuad Muhic's Ontological Distortion"]

[Text] Muhic's allegiance to the idea which terror inflames, and to the historical illumination of that idea, ignores the fact that the idea of freedom is not the same as real freedom.

The Sarajevo philosopher Dr. Fuad Muhic first used his rapier edged critical mind to challenge me and others on the subject of Yugoslav intellectual problematics in OSLOGODENJE (28 August to 1 September 1984) where he discussed our offenses vis a vis the proper trends in opinions; now he recently has rubbed salt in our wounds in other Yugoslav media. In the course of repeating his grudge, which devastated me in his first philippic in DANAS under the title "A Lament to our Unfortunate Fate" and subtitled "Scheming about History" and "Dogmatism and Nihilism will always Make Up for Shortcomings in Historical Truth", he never made it clear just what kind of philosophical conspiracy it was that was working against ideological orthodoxy and historical truth.

Because my interview in KNJIZEVNA REC (No. 328-240 30 July 1984) which Muhic's attacks concern, by its pro-European pluralistic intentions refuted all Muhic's complaints about my dogmatism and nihilism, I did not rise to his challenge at that time. Now, because my interview appeared in the same issue of KNJIZEVNA REC as the elegy "Glackgrave", which as one of Muhic's favorite pieces of literature, always stimulates a critical approach from him, I find myself forced to add a few of my own lines in answer to what Fuad Muhic accuses me of, due to the time framework involved. If this were not enough, Fuad Muhic has now crossed over with the same theme to the Ljubljana journal NASE RAZGLEDE (25 January 1985). What is to stop him from one day appearing in front of the gates to Vienna in all his intellectual splendor.

I am far from thinking that I will be able to change in any way the direction which guides Fuad Muhic's thoughts and pen. I only want, in any way possible, to briefly attempt to shed light upon the ideological falsifications which I have been charged with that are obviously the product of the type of "intellectual laziness" he exhibits in his work, i.e., enveloped in "Turkish pastries". Primarily Fuad Muhic chides me for prompting Edvard Kocbek's estrangement from "orthodox catholicism" and "party dogmatism",

and equating both with "ideological totalitarianism", which, in his judgement, irrefutably makes me a dogmatist and nihilist. Following the same reasoning, this means an attempt in the future to write our history in the spirit of meaningfully equating all ideological orientations and movements present before the revolution.

If Muhic really believed what he wrote, then I have to give him credit for really showing an enormous dose of "intellectual laziness" which, as he himself has written, primarily concerns poetic texts and their "illusions".

I should say that I never discussed the revolution or its history anywhere in my interview. If, however, Fuad Muhic believes in equating orthodox Catholicism and party dogmatism in any way with the history of our revolution, I will not forbid him from fundamentally unveiling and continuing to announce his assertions, but he should not use my statements in his attempts.

I can say that as far as I am concerned, a productive opinion means something other than a blind faith in this or that idea. I think of enlightened European thought stemming from Descartes and continuing onward, not only in relation to a critical relationship toward various escatologies, but as a self-critical questioning relationship toward one's own origins, in other words, as an intellectual process which cannot be dogmatized precisely by virtue of its descriptive nature of consciousness, therefore self-doubt will always ensue. This means that such a way of thinking by its nature does not hold any sort of absolute truth which can be used as a measure of everything that exists and to which everything that exists would have to unconditionally submit. Otherwise everything would have to submit to this or that thermadore which is so close to Fuad Muhic's heart that in reference to Ernst Nagel it unhesitatingly excites a Jacobine terror which "fans the flames of the idea of freedom as the ontological distortion of the French revolution even more."

The logic of this improbable concept merits our attention because it so vividly points out the spiritual dimensions of its creator. For him terror is that stimulation of social repression which to the greatest degree contributes to that which the idea of freedom so magnificently inflames. The author's allegiance to the idea and its historical illumination, which terror inflames, scorns the fact that the idea of freedom is not the same as actual freedom. The idea of freedom is at its most beautiful and enlightened when observed from a prison. This is why not even Muhic can place his idea in opposition to the actual freedom of our society. His idea is exposed as defective because it allows expressions of points of view which do not adhere to the metaphysical idea of freedom upon which this revolution was founded; and furthermore they internalize social freedom due to the fact that they refute Muhic's concept of social freedom by its presence in historical place and time.

Obviously Fuad Muhic is the kind of philosopher who wants to use his perspective on the idea to reveal to the entire world not only that "revolution in its own self-control has led to that level of freedom against which they (he wants to say all of us who mention this idea in our writings, N.G.) have repeatedly shown themselves to be enemies", but also implies that

revolution as it follows the quoted word "self-control" as a kind of automatic mechanism which can be most easily described as its own kind of "perpetuum mobile."

Being that I cannot be well disposed toward Fuad Muhic and his concept of social movements, nor to even a lesser degree can I agree with the method by which he suggests that the idea of freedom, as an "ontological distortion of revolution" is constantly being lived out in our social reality, he sees fit to instantly proclaim me an enemy of the revolution. Therefore it is impossible to break free from the impression that Muhic comprehends "self-controlling" revolution as a relentless terror that justifies the idea of the kind of freedom which Muhic has forged in his own mind, which fortunately is not a revolutionary mind. This is the extent to which "self-control" has been redistilled in our times and in today's social movements.

If, by my interpretation of Kocbek's critical stand vis a vis ideological totalitarianism, I have illustrated my own commitment to freedom of opinion and not solely to the idea of such a freedom, then in and of itself it should be understandable that I do not agree with various censured journals and publications regardless of whatever ideological fundamentalist party they originated from, where it is clear that their originators did not print them for their own amusement, but so that their own idea of freedom could be socially implemented.

I disagree with Muhic; I believe that such a "self-controlling" revolution, that not even Fuad Muhic can deny, has developed into a well-known conflict of the literary left. With his "Antibarbarous" he has even opposed Miroslav Krleza, whom he would happily enlist to be an advocate of his own allegiance to his "bestial" theology.

In light of everything that has been said, it is more than understandable why the elegy "Blackgrave" together with my notes regarding its ontological posture have been suspicious to Muhic.

On the basis of these notes on the partial quotation of two lines from the poem--"How much wax [covering] over the names, in all the weight of beings who are laid in snowy nothingness"--Muhic charges me with having "forcefully identified all modern temporal political, cultural, ideological and general human concerns as having the same worth."

Muhic's conviction hides "a few ideological demons" because the elegy is about dead Slovenes, and death in general, and it is unnecessary to invoke ideological omens or significant trends over death or in front of death itself. Use of such logic regarding death and the dead would be a poetic catastrophe not only vis a vis the poem's message, because then sectarianism among the dead would have to be intertwined in the poem, but to the ideological manipulation of death which is no way to strike out at the left or the right. Death is a fundamental, inflexible and unchanging truth which affects Muhic and the author of these verses equally, whether we want

it or not. That logic that leads to the idea that death must have this or that kind of, positive or negative meaning is, in the end, non-ideological. Apparently Fuad Muhic is incapable of registering this view.

In other words, in his opinion, death as a fundamental truth, would have to be evoked in the elegy in the same way that I in the course of my interpretation of the poem rejected as ideological manipulation of this truth.

Death is the great equalizer, the saying goes. For Fuad Muhic this quality in death is excruciatingly boring because, per fas et nefas, it applies to him as well. Furthermore, he does not acknowledge any truths other than that which is - meaningful. Therefore, in as much as it is possible to ideologically direct matters in the same light-handed manner which he did when he stuffed Zivojin Pavlovic, Spomenka Hribar, Matevez Krivic, Kosta Cavoski, Nebojsa Popov and me into the same basket under the label "enemies of the revolution", I am convinced that his list is not finished yet. For such a thermadorian ideologue of freedom as Fuad Muhic, this stack of people is no doubt too small to satisfy him. However, his committed relationship to the dead as opposed to a meaningful equalizing in death, offers him limitless opportunities to distinguish himself among them in the same way. Although I doubt it, perhaps Sophocles's anti-barbarianism message, personified by Antigone, which has advised us for centuries to bury all our dead because we are all the same in death, will reach him. It follows then that whoever does not understand an honorable dignified attitude toward death and the dead is incapable of truly honoring the living.

If Muhic proclaims me a "radical critic" because of this Antigone syndrome incorporated into the elegy "Blackgrave" and because of my opposition to the "Khoumeni spirit in that society" I have to finally ask just what revolution gave Muhic absolute power to defend it against opinions which are totally in keeping with the declared humanistic revolutionary traditions of this society. Unless of course Muhic does not think that revolution is some kind of political center of power which he deems needs him to come to its aid with his one of a kind indispensable pen.

In this case the ontological distortion of power and not revolution is being meddled with.

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YUGOSLAVIA

STAVREV ADDRESSES JUBILEE SESSION OF MACEDONIAN COUNCIL

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[Excerpts] Skopje, 16 Apr (TANJUG)--A festive session of the republican Executive Council was held in Skopje today to mark the 40th anniversary of the formation of the first national government of Macedonia. Dragoljub Stavrev, president of the council, spoke at the session about the jubilee and about the results achieved in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

This is an important event in the history of the Macedonian people, rounding off the process of constituting the modern Macedonian people, rounding off the process of constituting the modern Macedonian state in the new democratic and federal Yugoslavia--Stavrev underlined. The Macedonian state, as a symbol of independence and freedom which many generations have fought for, has become a reality. The foundations of the 1903 Ilinden manifesto, though the 1944 Ilinden documents, have become a reality. This reality was expressed in the formation of the first national government of Macedonia.

Representatives of the Macedonian nation, of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities, active participants in the national liberation struggle, people from working, rural, intellectual, and merchant environments composed that government. Lazar Kolisevski, secretary of the Communist Party of Macedonia Central Committee from its very constitution, and a metal worker, was chosen as its first president, "a revolutionary who has left an indelible stamp upon the organization and victorious progress of the national liberation struggle of the Macedonian people led by the Yugoslav Communist Party."

In executing its program, tasks, Dragoljub Stavrev underlined, the national government had the broad support of the popular masses organized into a national front, without differentiation of national and religious adherence. By its active daily work, this government was able to achieve its leading place in the state organism and in the major socioeconomic and political transformations of the Macedonian society.

In the past 40 years of life in the SR of Macedonia, Stavrev evaluated that major results have been achieved in material development and in socialist self-managing transformation.

As it has done hitherto, the SR of Macedonia will continue consistently to implement the unified policy of the SFRY in developing goodneighborly relations and cooperation with neighboring countries, for consistent respect for the principles of independence, equality, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal affairs. The SR of Macedonia will make its own contribution to realizing the unified Yugoslav policy of developing stable and goodneighborly relations and cooperation on the aforementioned principles, including acknowledgement and respect for the rights of sections of the Macedonian and other Yugoslav peoples who live as national minorities in neighboring countries. The SR of Macedonia will continue to devote attention to developing and deepening ties and cooperation with Macedonian emigrants in foreign countries, and to increasing the SR of Macedonia's role in the SFRY's cooperation with these countries, Stavrev concluded.

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END